NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DLXXI.

JUNE, 1904.

DOES RUSSIA REPRESENT ARYAN CIVILIZATION?

BY KARL BLIND.

I.

For the purpose of putting Europe on the wrong scent, Russian statecraft, in its dealings with Japan, has sought to raise the bugbear of the "Yellow Peril." Yet, the very first successes of the Japanese on sea were jubilantly celebrated, as far away as the United States, by Polish emigrants who belong to a white race—and more truly so than many of the Muscovites themselves?

The Poles in Russia, as well as various other nationalities within the overgrown Empire of the Czar, would certainly show similar signs of joy, if they had not the horrors of Siberia, of Blagovetchensk, and of Kischineff before their minds' eyes. When they read, on the outbreak of the war, in the *Novoe Vremya,* the cynical avowal that "Russia, in beginning and continuing negotiations with Japan, had only one intelligible object in view—namely, to gain time, and to take advantage of the time for getting her army and her fleet into readiness," the feelings of Poles, of Finns, of Armenians, of inhabitants of the Baltic Provinces, and other downtrodden populations, may be easily imagined. It is true that the fleet and the army of the would-be aggressor were

Copyright, 1904, by The North American Review Publishing Company. All Rights Reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not ready when Japan at last struck a blow in defence. Despotism, as is so often the case, had had inefficient or faithless servants.

Under these circumstances, Muscovite diplomacy, driven hard by the first issues of the armed encounter which it had hoped to delay yet for a while, exerts itself to enlist sympathies by assuming the part of "Champion of the Aryan Race." In France, where there is such an enormous number of holders of Russian bonds, pens have easily been found for writing up the "Yellow Peril" and denouncing the "Pan-Mongolism" of the Kingdom of the Rising Sun.

The efforts of those writers were somewhat awkwardly supported by a not very clever and rather incongruous argument of a prominent adherent of the Russian policy. He declared that Manchuria must be retained by Russia, and still further Mongol territory be annexed to her, because she herself contains already so many peoples of Mongol—that is, yellow—kinship! It is an argument we have heard before. It was used on the occasion of the inroad made by the Cossacks upon Afghanistan, in 1886, when a good bit of the territory of the Ameer was torn away and added to the Czar's Empire. The Russian plea brought forward at the time was, that the Turcomans inhabiting a portion of Afghanistan were of the same race as the Turcomans whom Russia had already conquered in the neighboring Khanate. Hence the Afghan Turcomans were also to be laid hold of!

Who can say, if this ethnological game were to go on, what limits there could be to it at all? It is literally a plea for the universal dominion of Russia in Asia.

However, the Russian annexationist writer before alluded to was quite right in avowing that there is much Mongolism in Russia herself. In saying so, he unwittingly let two cats out of his bag. Ethnologists are well aware that his assertion is true in an even far larger sense than he meant to convey.

Polish writers on race questions, such as Duchinski, have often protested against the claim of the St. Petersburg Government to be a Slav Power, and to be entitled, therefore, to assume the leadership over the various Slav nations outside the Autocrat's dominions. The Poles say—and their statement cannot historically be denied—that, when the Russian Kingdom was founded, in the ninth century, by a conquering Warangian clan of Scandinavian and other Germanic warriors (Swedes, Norwegians, An-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gles, and Goths), under Rurik (Roderick), the great plain was mainly peopled, in the north, by Ugrian, Finnish, and Tatar tribes, kindred to the Turanian or Mongol stock. Only here and there, towards the west, did a sprinkling of Slav tribes exist. The Slavonization in speech of that non-Aryan racial element was but slowly carried out in the course of many centuries.

It is now many years ago, when a bitter controversy raged between Poles and Muscovite Panslavists, that I received a closely written letter of fifteen pages from Duchinski, in which he contended with all his might against Russian hegemony over the Slavs. In these days, the French writer, Delamarre, seconded him by writings of his own. All this seems at present to be curiously forgotten—more especially in France, where there are still so many worshippers of the strange alliance between the Phrygian cap and the knout.

Historically speaking, there dwelt immediately east of Moscow, a people of non-Aryan origin and non-Slav language, for hundreds of years after the establishment of the Russian Kingdom. Catharine II., in a well-known ukase, acknowledged the fact that the inhabitants of real Muscovy were of a different descent from the Russians. The very name of Russia, I may add, is clearly proved to have been given to the country by the conquering Germanic Warangians. It is not a Slav, but a Germanic, Norse word. It was applied to the country in the same way as Gaul was called Frankland, or France, by the conquering Teutonic tribe of that name.

When the Warangians founded the Russian Kingdom in the ninth century, a Turkish nation, the Khazars, had an empire of their own in what is now southern Russia. Mongol by origin, they adopted partly the Mohammedan, partly the Jewish, creed, and had many flourishing cities with a culture of Byzantine connection. This Turkish nation was gradually overthrown by the Warangians and their Finno-Slav retinues. The blood of the Khazars, however, became mixed with that of their conquerors. So we have, here again, a Tatar element added to the ancient non-Aryan, Finnish, population of Russia.

II.

Originally Ugro-Finnish and Tatar, and but slightly Slav, in the north, the peoples in Russia had scarcely time to become

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amalgamated, when there came, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the terrible invasion of the Mongol "Golden Horde."

Russia, weakened by internal feuds among the descendants of Rurik, and by a territorial splitting-up into small principalities, was conquered by Batu, a grandson of Jenghiz Khan. It remained under the yoke of the Golden Horde for nearly 250 years. Politically, and partly even racially, the populations of the great plain, which in the east and the southeast of European Russia had remained Tatar even before the irruption of this enormous Mongol wave, now became doubly Mongolized. As a sign of subjection, the Grand-Princes of Muscovy had for centuries to make their annual obeisance to the Great-Khan, into whose camp they had to travel, and to whom they were compelled to present, on their knees, a cup of mare's milk. In customs and manners, as well as in institutions, Russia was thus fully changed, between the thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth century, into an Asiatic dependency.

Mainly through internal quarrels, which broke out, at last, among the Golden Horde itself, the country was slowly relieved from this Mongol dominion. On the ruins of the latter, Czardom arose, as a continuation, so to say, of the despotic rule of the Khans. For a long while Tatardom characterized the policy of the Czars. With the aid of Tatar auxiliaries, Ivan the Terrible conquered the free city of Novgorod, which had in the mean time grown up, and had formed a connection with the German Hansa.

The remnants of Tatar dominion in what is now southern Russia were only overthrown under Catharine II. But, even to this day, both in the southeast and in the northeast of European Russia, Tatar and other kindred races still partly dwell. Not a few Cossack tribes are mixed with them. Farther east, in Asia, we come again upon non-Aryan populations in Siberia, as well as upon Kalmucks, Bashkirs, and so forth—all of Turanian, Mongolic, yellow affinity.

And yet we are told that Russia is the Champion of the Aryan Race against the "Yellow Peril!"

III.

I have stated all this with no invidious racial purpose, but simply as historical and ethnological facts. What has been men-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tioned about the Turk nation of the Khazars, shows that culture is not the privilege of a white race only. The Moors in Spain might be cited also in this connection.

It is little known, but a positive fact, that Verestschagin, the famed Russian painter who found his untimely end in the terrible "Petropavlovsk" disaster, had Tatar blood in his veins, from the mother's side. When I met him—during his first visit to England for the purpose of exhibiting his striking pictures concerning the horrors of war—I did not observe this strain of Tatar kinship in his face or figure at all. Nor had he the appearance of a typical Russian, but rather that of a man of Germanic origin; for instance, of a Swede. He is said to have hailed from an old noble family; and this, in Russia, often means a descent from the early Norse founders of the Russian Kingdom. For all that, even he had a Tatar strain in his body composition.

Those who talk about the "Yellow Danger" might take note of this twofold racial origin of the great artist, who was also a good and humane man. The very names of many Russians prove a similar affinity with non-Slav, Tatar, Mongolian races. Bashkirtseff, Tatarcheff, Alikhanoff, Sibiriakoff, and numerous other names, point that way significantly enough.

All I wished to show is, that, with such facts before us, the Russian Government has the least claim to the part of Defender of the Aryan Race and of European Culture.

The hollowness of the assertion of writers who would fain denounce all non-Aryan races as natural enemies of European culture, could not be more clearly proved than by a reference to the treatment of Finland by the present Autocrat. The Finns do not belong to the Aryan stock. They are of Ugrian, in other words, of Turanian, blood, with which the Turks and the Tatars have some kinship. Only on the sea-coasts of Finland is there a Swedish, Germanic, admixture through the former political link with the Scandinavian Kingdom on the other side of the Gulf, which was robbed of its eastern possession by Muscovite aggression. The speech of the Finns is non-Aryan, even as is that of the Magyars in Hungary, the kinsmen of the Turks.

Now, like the Magyars, who are the political mainstay of the Hungarian Kingdom,—and, it may be added, like the modern Japanese,—the Finns are given to the cult of parliamentary institutions. The Finnish nation in general is more highly cultured

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than the mass of the Russian peasantry. But what does the St. Petersburg Government, the professed champion of European culture, do? Unmindful of his sworn oath, the text of which can be seen in every church of Finland near the altar, Nicholas II. has laid violent hands on the rights and liberties of that cultured people; thus acting, not like the constitutional ruler, which by public law he is in the grand-duchy of Finland, but like a tyrant of some Mongol Khanate. Yet he is to shield Europe, according to ignorant or interested writers, against the peril of Pan-Mongolism! Could hypocrisy further go?

It is an imaginary danger, this bugbear of Pan-Mongolism. The real danger is, the aim of Czarism, or of that military and bureaucratic ring which surrounds and often controls it, a universal dominion in Asia—to be followed by a similar attempt in Europe.

Yet those would gravely err who think that the Russian nation at large could be made answerable for that baneful ambition. A St. Petersburg letter, written a few days before the "Petropavlovsk" disaster, contains this assertion:

"In this present war, there is not a trace of patriotic enthusiasm among the people; on the contrary, the masses are perfectly apathetic, not understanding in the least the occurrences in the Far East, whilst the cultured part of the population is directly hostile to the Government policy in Manchuria."

Lest this statement should be doubted, I will give specimens of Russian press utterances in an even stronger sense. They are all the more characteristic, considering under what difficulties of censorship they were published. From the beginning, periodicals, like the moderately progressive "*Westnik Europy*," were averse to Government procedures. It said:

"Our national honor by no means demands that we should definitely annex Manchuria. Moreover, the economic condition of Russia in no wise permits her to take upon herself the heavy burden of sacrificing, year by year, many millions of roubles for the sake of maintaining order in a Chinese province. The two Manchurian railway lines have cost already about 500,000,000 roubles; and if that part which belongs to the Siberian line cannot be given away, this may very well be done with the other line. It was a mistake to connect the coast territory (the province of Vladivostok) with the Siberian railway through a foreign country, seeing that the coast territory not only does not bring in any profit, but

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had to be subventioned in a previous decade, from the Exchequer, with 150,000,000 roubles. Russian commerce in the Far East is utterly insignificant, and has no prospects whatever of being increased."

It would lead too far to give more extracts from that prominent periodical. Be it only still said that the "*Westnik Europy*" denies the possibility of Russian competition, in the Far East, with the merchandise of England, America and Japan, in spite of the high tariff imposed by Government. Says the "*Westnik Europy*":

"People in that part of the world, being dissatisfied with the inferior Russian produce, still continue as customers of the countries mentioned. Our own commercial policy in Manchuria has merely the effect of creating a race of *chevaliers d'industrie*, who have already been nicknamed 'Manchurians,' and who, supported by the so-called patriotic press, exert themselves very successfully to get money from the State Exchequer into their own pockets. The sounding phrases about Russia's greatness and glory are simply a mask for the purpose of getting quickly rich at the expense of Russia."

Severe as these strictures are, they were still exceeded by those in the more advanced periodical, "*Russkoje Bogotstwo.*" In its opinion, "the whole of Corea and Manchuria are not worth the life of a single Russian soldier." Even Prince Uchtomsky, who for some time was an intimate personal friend of the Czar, whose travels, during which he had accompanied the Czar, he described in a book, had said in a series of articles, the conclusion of which was published after the beginning of the war, that the best policy for Russia in Asia was a peaceable one. "Assuming the case," he wrote, "that we defeat Japan. In that case, China would *de facto* become a Russian province. But how should we then accomplish the task of administering, and finally assimilating, a country whose population is three times as numerous as our own?" Certainly, such statements are a strange commentary on Russian governmental policy; and who knows what tone they would assume if great defeats were to come?

IV.

The far-reaching aims of Russian policy in Asia may be gathered from a curious conversation the English ambassador at St. Petersburg had, in 1881, with the representative of the Foreign Office there.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A report of it is contained in a despatch to Earl Granville, dated July 27. Its contents are characteristic of the ironical manner the diplomatists of St. Petersburg often adopt for covering a serious intention of theirs.

It is within the remembrance of older men that, in their earlier years, Russia had not penetrated much beyond the Caspian Sea. Now this is what in July, 1881, the English ambassador wrote:

"With reference to my despatches of the 20th instant, I have the honor to report for your Lordship's (Earl Granville's) information, that I asked Baron Jomini to-day (M. de Giers being absent from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs), if he could give me an idea of what the territory was, which was termed 'Trans-Caspian.' His Excellency replied that it was '*All the territory beyond the Caspian.*' 'But,' I said, 'can you give me no idea as to where it ends?' To which he said that he *could not.*"

I think such a mocking answer should have been met by a strong warning hint in calm, yet significant, language. The inference from Baron Jomini's words is obvious. They contained a veiled programme of the future. "All the territory beyond the Caspian!" Why, that could be made to cover India!

There is still more of that scoffing manner in the report of Baron Jomini's answer. The English ambassador wrote:

"His Excellency said that their farthest point *now* was Askabad, but that General Skobeleff had *discovered some very fertile country farther south,* where a complete state of disorder existed; that there was *Sarakhs* also to be considered, and whether it was Persian or not remained to be verified. If Persian, that then it would remain so; but if not, that it would then be necessary to establish some regular form of government *there, as elsewhere;* and that the frontier negotiations would probably *extend to territory beyond the Attrek as far as the confines of Khorassan,* over which Baron Jomini to-day threw doubts as to the sovereignty of the Shah of Persia being more than nominal."

Here the intended aggression in the direction of Persia was clearly foreshadowed.

Another specimen of Muscovite ironical treatment of the vital interests of England is to be found in the previous "Memorandum of a Confidential Conversation of Count Schuwaloff with Lord Derby" (June 8, 1877). When that Memorandum came to light, it was asserted that the Russian ambassador had given "categorical assurances" of a satisfactory character. Now look at the text of those satisfactory assurances! A child might have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seen through the hollowness of the pledge. This is what Count Schuwaloff said:

"England appears to fear lest the spreading, or consequences, of the war (of Russia against Turkey in 1877-78) should lead us to threaten Bassorah and the Persian Gulf. It is not at all to our interest to trouble England in her Indian possessions, or, consequently, in her communications with them. The war which is *at present* going on does not demand it; for its objects are clearly defined, and matters would be *complicated rather than simplified by so vast an extension of the struggle.*"

Here I may remark that, in the English version of this conversation, the expression "at present," which I have put in italics, is rendered by "actually." It is evidently a wrong translation of the French "*actuellement,*" which does not mean "actually," but "at present," or "just now."

In other words, what Schuwaloff had in his mind, or up his sleeve, was this: "We must settle Turkey first. After her power is broken, then, and then only, we may trouble England as regards her Indian possessions. Not before; or else England might make common cause with Turkey."

It pleases Russian diplomacy enormously to give such categorical assurances of a satisfactory character, and at the same time to make, in sarcastic phrases, a hint as to its future intentions, which afterwards would enable it even to claim for itself a character of consistent truthfulness.

V.

However, it is not always by veiled sarcasm that the Government of St. Petersburg gets the better of a Power it has to reckon with. On other occasions—and they are by far the more frequent ones—downright deception, by falsely given pledges, is practised without compunction.

A quotation from a despatch of Lord Granville to Lord Loftus, of January 8th, 1873, may here be of use. It contains an early instance of a perfect series of wilful deceptions concerning Russia's gradual march from the Caspian, through the once independent Khanates of Central Asia, to the very confines of, nay, even into, Afghanistan, the bulwark of India.

This is what Lord Granville wrote:

"Count Schuwaloff, a statesman enjoying the full confidence of the Emperor of Russia, confirmed the fact that it was by the Emperor's de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sire that he sought a personal interview with me. It had caused great surprise to his Imperial Majesty to learn from various sources that a certain amount of excitement and susceptibility had been caused in the public mind of this country on account of questions connected with Central Asia. With regard to the expedition to Khiva, to give an idea of its character, it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four and a half battalions. *Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it.* He gave me most decided warrant that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on the matter."

Earl Granville acted on this warrant in Parliament. Then His Majesty Alexander II. quietly annexed Khiva.

Similar pledges, one after the other, were given in the case of Merv, Sarakhs, Afghanistan—in one instance even on an Imperial word of honor to the English nation and to Queen Victoria in person. They were all openly broken. These records of violated pledges look to-day like the overthrown mile-stones of Muscovite progress towards India.

Can we wonder that Prince Dolgorukoff, a moderate constitutionalist, should have written, when living abroad in 1860, the following words in his book, "The Truth about Russia."

"Russia has, from the time of the Mongol invasion, in the thirteenth century, down to our days, been nothing but an immense pyramid of oppression. In this vast edifice, slavish subjection and arbitrary force reign from the bottom to the top; and from top to bottom there is developed, in formidable proportions, the *official lie, the lie erected into a political institution.* . . . This despotism, hideous in itself, exercises an eminently deleterious influence. It dries up noble and elevated sentiments; it degrades the soul; it corrupts, perverts, and lowers the character, even more among those who exercise that despotism than among its victims."

It will be useful, here, to refer to the secret convention between the Russian Government and Shir Ali, of Afghanistan.

Since 1869, there has been no lack of the customary Russian "assurances" in regard to Afghanistan. One of them dates back to the early seventies. It runs thus:

"The idea expressed by Lord Clarendon, of keeping a zone between the possessions of the two Empires in Asia, to preserve them from any contact, has been always shared by our august Master. You may assure Lord Clarendon that nothing could better suit the views of the Emperor" (Alexander II.).

Again:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"His Imperial Majesty looks upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia may be called upon to exercise her influence. *No intervention or interference whatever, opposed to the independence of that State, enters into his calculations.*"

How was this pledge kept? Only a few years later, the same imperial Majesty entered, through a secret envoy, into negotiations with the Ameer Shir Ali. Their purport is contained in a "Confidential News Letter from the Government Agent at Peshawur," dated June 18th, 1878, and printed in a Blue Book.

The Ameer was asked to allow the location of Russian Agents at Kabul and other places; to accord permission for the quartering of Russian troops in Afghanistan; to let roads be constructed by the Russian Government from Samarkand to Kabul, from Kabul to Herat, from Herat to Kandahar; to allow passage, when necessity arose, by routes it may be desirable to follow, to *Russian troops proceeding to India;* to set up telegraph wires wherever Russian troops or agents were to be stationed; and to furnish supplies to the Russian troops on payment, if it became desirable that the Russian Government should send an expedition to *wage war in India.* On these conditions, the Russian Government would allow the continuance of the administration of Afghanistan to the representatives, successors, and heirs of the Ameer.

The detection of this enormous intrigue finally led to the fall of Shir Ali. The only man to whom I have recently spoken about the occurrence, who at once caught up the allusion, was the young Chief Secretary of the late Ameer, Abdur Rahman, during his stay in England. He knew every detail.

Having been foiled, at the time mentioned, through the discovery of these secret negotiations, Russia, nevertheless, made a new attempt only a few years afterwards, in 1885. This time, she contrived even to tear away, and to retain, a portion of Abdur Rahman's dominions. She did so after having consented to a Frontier Commission, to which the English General Lumsden was appointed as a delegate. When he arrived, he was driven away by a Cossack troop! All this was evidently done with the fell purpose of humiliating England, and so impressing the various and somewhat discordant races that dwell within the "bulwark of India" with the rising power of Czardom.

KARL BLIND.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN OUR CIVIL WAR, AND THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND JAPAN.

BY HENRY CLEWS.

THERE has recently been much discussion relative to the attitude of England and Russia towards the United States during our Civil War. This was provoked by the war between Russia and Japan, which caused the partisans of Russia here to contend that Americans ought to sympathize with Russia in the contest. They argued that Americans should do this because Japan has an alliance by treaty with England, and English sentiment was a good deal against the United States in our struggle, or rather in favor of the South as against the North, whereas Russia was on our side, and made us, in 1863, as they erroneously claim, an offer of naval assistance in the event of intervention by England and France.

It is very easy to assert, as it has long been asserted and by many believed, that Russia, in 1863, offered the United States Government the use of her ships of war that then came to the port of New York, and that this prevented, or may have prevented, England and France from recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. But we have yet to learn that there is any record of such an official overture by Russia, either at St. Petersburg or at Washington; and there certainly would be one in both countries if the assertion was a fact instead of being wholly mythical.

Would Lincoln or Seward have left the country in ignorance of such an affair, or of any suggestion in that direction, if it had been officially made? It is a myth that hardly calls for contradiction. Such matters between nations cannot be kept secret, and the lapse of forty years since 1863 without revealing anything concerning the alleged orders, goes to prove that there were none

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the kind, and that there was nothing to reveal. The Russian ships came here in 1863, just as the Russian fleet with the Grand-Duke Alexis came to New York in 1871, merely on a cruise.

That sentiment in England during the war was largely pro-Southern among the wealthy mercantile and manufacturing class is not to be disputed. But this resulted from the interruption of the cotton supply by the war and the blockade of the Southern ports, and from the loss of the South as a customer for British manufactures, involving much depression and distress. The shoe pinched very severely. Liverpool and Manchester, in particular, were great sufferers by the war, and smarted under the extinction, for the time being, of their Southern cotton supply and connections, and they were against the North largely because it had choked off this trade.*

But this sentiment, this irritation, due to business conditions growing out of the war, was merely personal, and in no way involved the British Government, or reflected its leanings, opinions or future policy. Liverpool and Manchester were, not unnaturally, sentimentally against the North, because it was, under the necessities of war, preventing the South from shipping its produce to England or importing British goods. That feeling of irritability against the North would have disappeared at any time with the resumption of trade with the South; and it did disappear as soon as the war ended and the Southern ports were reopened to commerce.

England's American trade up to that time had been very much larger with the South than with the North, for cotton was much more truly "king" then than it is now; and, apart from grain and provisions, the export trade of the North was very small in comparison with its present great extent. Moreover, the wealth of the United States was small in proportion, and our social relations with England and the rest of Europe were not nearly as intimate and extensive as they have since become. We have learned to know each other much better in the interval.

* I except, of course, the great excitement and commotion created in England by the seizure of Mason and Slidell, on November 7th, 1861, by Captain Wilkes of the U. S. S. "San Jacinto," when the British Government demanded their release and an apology; but that was because we had violated the rights of a neutral vessel by taking them from the "Trent," flying a British flag. We released them on that ground, and so at once ended the trouble that had threatened war. This was a special case of our provoking.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We had not then begun to export beauty and fashion, largely in the shape of American heiresses, for the delight and enrichment of the aristocracy of the Old World, and we could boast of no such colossal individual fortunes as we can now.

When, however, the British Government did, on one occasion, consider the question of recognition of the South and intervention in the war, it was solely on the proposition of the French Emperor, Napoleon the Third, who wanted to break up our Union in order to promote his scheme for planting the Latin race in America, by establishing, under French protection, an empire in Mexico, with Maximilian on the throne. But his proposition was at once unanimously, emphatically and unconditionally rejected by the British Cabinet.

We have this on the highest official authority, that of Mr. Gladstone himself, who, in a letter to me dated May 30th, 1889, speaks thus positively on the subject:

"26 James's Street,
"May 30, 1889.

"Dear Sir:—

"Having expressed my interest in the portions of your work which I read on the day of its arrival, I think it would be less than ingenuous if I did not, after reading what relates to the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston, on page 56 and in the following chapter, make some reference to it.

"Allow me to assure you that, so far as that Cabinet is concerned, you have been entirely misled in regard to matters of fact. As a member of it, and now nearly its sole surviving member, I can state that it never at any time dealt with the subject of recognizing the Southern States in your great civil war, excepting when it learned that proposition of the Emperor Napoleon Third, and declined to entertain that proposition without qualification, hesitation, delay or dissent.

"In the debate which took place on Mr. Roebuck's proposal for the negotiation, Lord Russell took no part, and could take none, as he was a member of the House of Lords. I spoke for the Cabinet.

"You will, I am sure, be glad to learn that there is no foundation for a charge which, had it been true, might have aided in keeping alive angry sentiments happily gone by. You are, of course, at liberty to publish this letter.

"I remain, dear sir, your very faithful servant,
"W. E. Gladstone.

"Henry Clews, Esq."

In this letter, it will be seen, Mr. Gladstone, the Grand Old Man, as England called him, a member of the British Cabinet

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

during Lord Palmerston's administration, which extended from 1859 to 1865, more than covering the period of the war for the Union, assured me that the Cabinet never at any time dealt with the subject of recognizing the Southern States, except to decline to entertain the proposition of France, and this "without qualification, hesitation, delay or dissent."

What could be more positive and emphatic than this? What more unequivocal, explicit and direct? It is an unqualified statement that the British Government had never during the war in any way considered the question of recognizing the Southern Confederacy, except on that one occasion, and England was the first nation to which the French proposal was made. Had England joined France when Napoleon made his proposition, which she was the first to reject, that conspirator against us would have tried hard to help the South to succeed in disrupting the Union, for the purpose of regaining possession of Louisiana, and capturing as much additional territory as possible in order to annex it to the empire he expected to found in Mexico. He wanted a weak neighbor. We were saved from his machinations, and this great danger, by the resolute course of the British Government; and Napoleon thereafter sowed the wind to reap the whirlwind in Mexico. He consigned poor Maximilian to disaster and an inglorious death, after his empire had fallen like a house of cards when the French troops, that had bolstered up his throne, were withdrawn.

This positive testimony from so high and competent an authority as Mr. Gladstone ought to be conclusive in effectually disproving the unfounded "cock and bull" story that England, at one time, contemplated the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and that she was prevented from moving in that direction, and led to reverse her policy, and prevent the escape of the Confederate cruisers from Laird's shipyard at Birkenhead, by the arrival at New York of Russian war-ships.

The fact that a Russian squadron, commanded by Admiral S. Lessoffsky on his flagship "Alexander Nevsky," did come to new York late in September, 1863, and that its officers were very hospitably received and entertained, is the peg on which this story is made to hang. I have good reasons for saying the ships came here with no such object, nor with "sealed orders" to take an active part in the war, if required. New York was merely a port

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of call for them, and no doubt their officers were glad to get here and be fêted, as they were. They also, it is safe to assume, appreciated the courtesy of William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, who afterwards told me that, when he heard of their arrival in American waters, he invited them to accept the hospitalities of the port of New York. He, of course, foresaw that their coming here would, or at least might, have a good moral and political effect in our favor both at home and abroad, by depressing the South and encouraging the North, and causing any foreign Powers that might have been considering the advisability of recognizing the Southern Confederacy to postpone action under the impression that we had, or might have, Russia for an ally.

He was astute enough to see that this visit of the Russian squadron might seem to be what it was not, particularly to foreign eyes. Appearances, we all know, are often deceptive, yet they sometimes exert great influence. The visit of this squadron was a case in point. It was a splendid "bluff," at a very critical period in our history. Its coming was all the more desired by Mr. Seward because, on the 3rd of February, 1863, he had received a despatch from the Emperor Napoleon offering to mediate between the United States and the Southern Confederacy, to which he replied three days later, absolutely rejecting the offer, in very positive terms. After that, early in July, the battle of Gettysburg had been fought, and Northern prospects had brightened very materially. Nevertheless, the coincidence of an arrival, about the same time as the Atlantic Squadron came, of more Russian war-ships at San Francisco, under the command of Admiral Popoff, added to Secretary Seward's gratification; and, when the Russian officers of the Atlantic Squadron went on to Washington, he kept up the festivities to which they had been accustomed in New York by giving them a grand dinner. He was a fitting host, as he had originally invited them to come here.

The Grand-Duke Alexis when he came to New York, with another Russian squadron, under another Admiral, in 1871, practically verified, in reply to my inquiries in conversation while I was acting as one of the Russian Reception Committee, what Secretary Seward had previously intimated to me—namely, that there was no foundation for the story that the Russian squadron of 1863 had come here to help us in warfare, if needed. Mr.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Seward told me this very definitely on one occasion when I met him at Washington. But that its officers enjoyed themselves here very much socially was evident from their profuse expression of thanks, and acknowledgment of obligations for the favors received, before they took their departure, and also from the fact that, when they got back to Russia, they called in a body, with the Emperor's approval, on Mr. Cassius M. Clay, the American Minister at St. Petersburg, to return thanks more formally for the courtesies and kindness of which they had been the recipients here.

Now, it is clearly to be inferred that, if they had come here to serve us at a grave crisis, by offering to take part in our war, they would not have felt themselves under such obligations to us; on the contrary, we should have been under very great obligations to them, which would have called for public acknowledgment. Moreover, if the Russians had come on any such mission as naval co-operation in actual war, if needed, it would not only have been a matter of official record in both countries, but it would have immediately become known, not alone to the public here, but to the world. It would have been simply impossible to keep the news from the press; and the government at Washington would have had no object, no good purpose to serve, in concealing such an alliance, for alliance it would have been of great international importance, and one which would have tended, still more than the activity of our own navy, to show Europe and the South the hopelessness of the South's struggle with the North. Russia was friendly to the United States, of course; but this friendship between the two countries was very different from an offer, or a willingness, to help us by armed intervention in our favor. Russia has never intimated that she had any such intention; and, indeed, such intervention on her part would have been folly, as her navy was then very small after the destruction of the Crimean War, and would have been powerless against England or France.

The conclusion is, therefore, that the sympathy with Russia in its present war with Japan, which many in the United States are endeavoring to stimulate on the strength of this Munchausen story of proffered war-ships, is based on a mere assumption. Just as in the case of one of Dickens's characters, "Mrs. Harris," there was "no such person," so in the case of this visit of Russian

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cruisers, there was no such offer of these by Russia to the United States, nor any evidence of any intention to offer them by Russia. On the contrary, Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, repeatedly said to our Minister at St. Petersburg, and in despatches to the Russian Minister at Washington, that Russia greatly favored peace, and wished for its speedy return; but would never take sides in the controversy between North and South.

Finally, as to England, we have the word of William Ewart Gladstone that the British Government was not unfriendly to us throughout our Civil War, inasmuch as it was absolutely and entirely opposed to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and instantly and effectually checkmated the French Emperor when he tried to make it swerve from its consistent course of neutrality. Had the British Government been unfriendly, it would have jumped at this chance to join France in recognition and intervention. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

There is no reason in what I have said, however, for an anti-Russian and pro-Japanese feeling in the United States, or an anti-American feeling in Russia; and it is much to be desired that friendly feeling towards each other should prevail in both countries, but not at the expense of truth. Even Japan, while fighting Russia, is showing good-will and generosity towards Russian officers and men, and treating them with uncommon courtesy and consideration.

My only object in thus writing is to present the matters referred to, involving the relations of the United States with England, France and Russia during our Civil War, in a true and proper light, and so to correct prevailing misapprehensions. Russia's course in Manchuria, however, by which she tightened, instead of releasing, her grip upon it, as she promised to do, sufficiently accounts for our lack of sympathy with her in her war with Japan.

While professing friendship for the United States, she has acted in bad faith, and by her restrictions ruined our growing trade there; and all the specious arguments put forward by Russia through the Russian Ambassador at Washington will not make the American people believe that Russian success in this war would be an advantage to the United States.

Hence, American sympathies are not generally on the side of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

autocratic and grasping Russia, with its closed door, but with liberal Japan, and its open door. Moreover, it is to be hoped that Russia will find her so-called "special position" of exclusiveness and monopoly in Manchuria untenable, and be compelled to abandon it, to evacuate that country, and leave its trade open to all the world. Then the now idle and ruined factories, built there by Americans, could be turned to profitable account again.

Although our relations with Russia have always been friendly, past friendship does not justify present injustice. The retention of her foothold in Manchuria, which she was to have held only until the country was pacified, and her obvious and avowed designs upon Corea, evidently aim at the acquisition of their territory, and point to similar ultimate designs upon China and Japan.

Such being the case, we may well sympathize with Japan in her struggle with Russia. We owe nothing to Russia because some of her ships came to New York in 1863; but we are indebted to England for having peremptorily declined the proposition of France to recognize the Southern Confederacy.

Moreover, England is our natural ally, as we are allied to her by an affinity of race, language, religion and free institutions. As for "the Yellow Peril," of which so much has been said, especially by the Russian Ambassador, as something to be feared by the Western nations, it is purely imaginary and chimerical. There is no more danger of China and Japan, if successful in war at home, invading and overrunning the rest of the world at any time in the future, near or remote, than there is of the man in the moon coming down and invading us with an army of moonshiners.

HENRY CLEWS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW AMERICAN NAVY.*

BY SIR WILLIAM H. WHITE, K.C.B.

I.

In two handsome volumes, Mr. Long, Secretary of the United States Navy from 1897 to 1902, has given a readable and complete account of work that has been done during the last twenty years in the creation of the new American Navy. His opportunities have been exceptional for tracing the history of that Navy; and his period of office covered the stirring events of the war with Spain, when the modern United States Fleet received its "baptism of fire" and practically determined the issue.

Remarkable vicissitudes have marked the history of the United States Navy during the past forty years. When the Civil War broke out, that Navy was weak and inefficient. Little had been done towards the reconstruction rendered necessary in all navies by the introduction, first of steam propulsion, and subsequently of armor-plating. This naval decadence was due to political causes and not to any loss of American skill in ship-building. The steam frigate "Niagara," which was employed in carrying one-half of the first transatlantic cable, was a proof to the contrary; but public interest was wanting in naval affairs, and no sufficient motive for increased expenditure on the Navy was found during a period of enormous internal development. When the depredations of the "Alabama" on American commerce and shipping, the necessity for establishing a blockade of the Confederate coast, and the conduct of naval operations against fortified ports in the Southern States, made action imperative, the world once more witnessed a wonderful example of the energy and resource of the American people. A great fleet sprang into being in an incred-

* "The New American Navy." By John D. Long. The Outlook Co., New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ibly short time. It was, of course, to a great extent improvised; but it contained novel types, such as the "Monitor" devised by Ericsson, the shallow-draught ironclads built for service on the great rivers and coast waters, and various classes of unarmored cruisers, some of which were the progenitors of corresponding classes in other navies. Over 600 vessels were built or bought during the war, about one-third being of new construction and many of these being left unfinished on the stocks when the Civil War ended. For a time it seemed possible that the United States would maintain its war fleet in a high rank amongst the navies of the world; but, in the reaction consequent upon the enormous exertions and vast expenditure incurred in the Civil War, the Navy was once more neglected, vessels were permitted to decay on the stocks, and the naval force was allowed to diminish gradually but surely, no sufficient grants being made for its maintenance or extension. Now and again efforts were made to remedy this state of affairs, but until 1883 no notable advance was effected. The cruisers "Chicago," "Boston," and "Atlanta" were then laid down. "These ships," says Mr. Long, "were the nucleus of the new American Navy"; and it is interesting to know that, in their design, an important part was played by two young naval constructors who had been trained in England as my pupils at the Royal Naval College. One of them (Rear-Admiral Bowles) subsequently became Chief Constructor of the United States Navy; a position which he resigned recently after a distinguished official career.

This new departure was based on the recommendation of an Advisory Board appointed in 1881, in which were included eminent naval officers, marine engineers and naval constructors. The Board reported that of the sixty-one unarmored cruisers then on the Navy List, only thirty-two were available for service; and it recommended the addition of thirty-eight modern cruisers, as well as thirty smaller vessels for coast service, rams, gunboats and torpedo craft. The immediate result of these recommendations was small, but their report was followed by others from Naval Committees of Congress, and public opinion in the United States was gradually influenced in favor of a strong Navy. This policy has been since enforced by the remarkable writings of Captain Mahan; and has been made permanent by the additions of over-sea possessions to the territories of the United States, as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

result of the war with Spain. President Roosevelt has been throughout a strenuous advocate of the need for a strong Navy, and his influence counts for much.

Systematic development of the United States Navy really commenced under the administration of the late Mr. Whitney, who became Secretary of the Navy in 1885. His policy has been well described as embracing the reorganization of the administration of the Navy Department; the construction of a new Navy including every improvement in offensive and defensive power; and the production of all materials used in building war-ships, as well as the construction of the vessels themselves, within the United States. In short, his aim was not merely the development of the United States Navy, but of all home industries connected therewith. Mr. Whitney realized at the outset that it would be advantageous to acquire full particulars and working drawings of modern types of war-ships built or building in Europe; and, after inquiry, he authorized the Naval Attaché in England to purchase designs for protected cruisers prepared by the writer during his connection with Messrs. Armstrong. These designs were acquired in 1885: one of them was that of the Japanese cruisers "Naniwa" and "Takachiho," which were then approaching completion; the other was a new design for a larger and more powerful vessel, subsequently named the "Baltimore," which took a prominent part in the battle of Manila. Not long after, competitive designs for small battle-ships were invited by public advertisement; and the prize was awarded to a design prepared by the late Mr. William John, who was at that time the manager of the Barrows Ship-building Company. On the basis of this information, contracts were awarded to American firms for the construction of ships which in their structural arrangements, machinery, armament, and equipment compared favorably with corresponding and contemporary classes in European navies. Even when thus limited, it was a bold undertaking to attempt to rival, at one step, in American shipyards, results obtained in other navies after years of continuous effort which had furnished training for skilled workmen. Allowing for the fact that many British ship-builders were engaged by American firms, and that British experience in shipyard machinery and equipment was made available, it is impossible to leave unrecognized the remarkable success which was achieved by American manufacturers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From that time on, the Navy Department has relied upon American talent for the design as well as the construction of the war fleet. No doubt the closest attention has been given to what has been done in Europe, and particularly in England, in the development of types of war-ships. In many classes the influence of action taken by the British Admiralty on designs prepared in the United States has been both obvious and considerable. It is, however, equally true that in many particulars American designers have made important new departures, and shown the courage, as well as the skill, which is their traditional possession.

The development in the United States of ship-building and engineering establishments of the first class has been a feature of the last ten years. In regard to machinery and mechanical appliances for lifting weights, or transporting materials, many novel arrangements have been introduced by American engineers, and some of their devices have been adopted in Great Britain.

It is a notable fact that the new American Navy has for the most part been built by private firms, some of which have been practically created after orders have been secured for large and costly vessels. The dockyards belonging to the States have been chiefly devoted during this period of development to repairs of ships and machinery, but quite recently it has been decided to build a battle-ship of the largest class in New York Navy-Yard, in competition with sister ships building by private firms.

Remarkable advances have been made also in the creation of manufactories for armor-plating, ship-building materials, ordnance, and projectiles. The "Harvey" process of making armor was brought to a successful issue in the United States, and has been the basis on which subsequent improvements have been made. Altogether, the energy and resource of the American people have been equal to the task imposed by the erection of the new Navy, but, in certain departments, and particularly in regard to the production of armor and armaments, serious delays have occurred, and the completion of ships has been hindered.

It is not possible, nor is it desirable, to trace in detail the history of the new Navy. According to the latest official annual reports, at the end of September, 1903, there were 252 vessels fit for service (including those under repair); in addition, forty-five vessels were under construction or authorized to be built. Of the completed vessels ten were battle-ships of the first class, and one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the second class. The latter ("Texas") cannot be regarded as fit for the line of battle under modern conditions. Two completed vessels are classed as "armored cruisers," but the thickness and extent of their vertical armor on the sides hardly justify their ranking with modern armored cruisers, in which hull-protection is more highly developed. Fourteen protected and three unprotected cruisers of modern types make up the sea-going force now available. In addition, there are ten vessels of the "Monitor" class, some of great age, and one armored ram, useful for coast defence; sixteen torpedo-boat destroyers, twenty-nine torpedo-boats, and eight submarines constitute the torpedo flotilla. The submarines are of the "Holland" type, which was adopted also in the British Navy after successful trials had been made with it in the United States. There are also over forty gunboats of small size and fighting power, and more than fifty auxiliary cruisers, colliers, supply and hospital ships and converted yachts, most of which were added to the Navy by purchase during the recent war with Spain. Tugs and special non-combatant vessels make up the grand total of 252 ships fit for service.

Vessels under construction, or authorized to be built, in September, 1903, represented an enormous relative additional force, including fourteen first-class battle-ships, eight splendid armored cruisers, and nine protected cruisers. Six torpedo-boats appear on this list and three gunboats, but no torpedo-boat destroyers or submarines.

The first battle-ships, worthy of that designation under present conditions, were authorized in 1890; they are three in number and are known as the "Oregon" class. The "Iowa," built two years later, is a distinct improvement upon them. In 1895, two others were authorized (the "Kearsarge" and "Kentucky") in which the novel and much-debated feature of "double-storied" turrets was introduced. In 1896, three vessels of the "Alabama" class were authorized; in 1898, the construction of three others was approved by Congress, including the "Missouri," which has quite recently been the scene of a terrible disaster during target practice with her heavy turret guns.

II.

The war with Spain naturally quickened public interest in the Navy, the value of which was demonstrated in the actions at Manila and Santiago. Five battle-ships of the "Georgia" class

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were authorized in 1899-1900, and were followed in 1902 by two other vessels of the "Connecticut" class. In 1903, five other first-class battle-ships were authorized. In the present year (1904), the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives has authorized the laying down of another battle-ship, so that eleven first-class vessels are now building.

It is interesting to note how the size and cost of American battle-ships have increased since 1890. The "Oregon" has a displacement of 10,250 tons, and a speed, on trial, of 16¾ knots, with about 11,000 horse-power. The "Vermont," of 1903, has a displacement of 16,000 tons, a trial speed of 18 knots, with about 16,500 horse-power; while the vessels of the "Virginia" class, also of 16,000 tons, are to have engines of 19,000 horse-power, giving a speed of 19 knots. Advocates of ships of more moderate dimensions and cost have not been wanting in the United States, any more than in England. The dangers of putting "too many eggs into one basket" have been enlarged upon, with the result that Congress, against the advice of the technical authorities, insisted, in 1903, upon the building of two battle-ships of 13,000 tons displacement and 17 knots. The balance of naval opinion is undoubtedly against that course, and in the latest battle-ship of 1904, 16,000 tons has been adopted again.

It was intended that the present year (1904) should have witnessed the commissioning of a large number of these powerful battle-ships. Owing to various circumstances, and largely to delays with armor and guns, it is now anticipated that they will not be ready to enter service for another year and a half, or two years. This delay is recognized by the naval authorities at Washington to be very serious. It has been made the subject of a special investigation; and it is believed that the arrangements now made for the supply of armor and guns, as well as for perfecting the plans before the work of construction begins, will prevent a recurrence of this difficulty.

One condition having great influence upon the designs of United States battle-ships, is the comparatively shallow draught necessary for their service. This necessitates greater length than has been adopted hitherto for British battle-ships. The "Vermont" class, for example, are 450 feet long as against the 435 feet of the "King Edward" class in the Royal Navy; and, allowing for differences in weight of armament, equipments, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coal, carried on the trials, they are of practically equal displacement.

"The "armored-cruiser" class of the United States Navy constitutes a very powerful force, to which there is not, in fact, an equivalent, even in the British Navy. No less than eight vessels are now building of about 500 feet in length with displacements on trial from 13,700 to 14,500 tons; whereas in the Royal Navy we have only four vessels of the "Drake" class of about the same length and approximately the same displacement. It is the fashion to speak of these cruisers in the Royal Navy as if they stood alone; but the United States authorities, in taking action at a date subsequent to the construction of the "Drake" class, first of all ordered vessels which, under similar conditions, are of equal length and displacement with the "Drake," then supplemented these by two vessels 500 or 600 tons greater in displacement than the "Drake," and in 1904 seriously considered the construction of two other first-class armored cruisers, of 16,000 tons, but eventually decided to adhere to 14,500 tons. It is anticipated that by the end of 1904 four of these powerful cruisers will be ready for commission, that two others will be completed in 1905, and two more in 1906.

The estimated cost of the latest type of United States line-of-battle ship is $7,775,000, including an armament estimated to cost $1,500,000. The hull, machinery and armor are estimated to cost $6,200,000, or, say, £1,250,000 sterling. For the first-class cruisers, the estimated cost of hull, machinery and armor is about £1,200,000 sterling, and of the armament about £176,000.

Of protected cruisers, there are twenty-three shown on the United States Navy List, and to these may fairly be added the "New York" and "Brooklyn," classed as armored cruisers. It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed description of these vessels, which are still of considerable value. It is interesting to notice, however, that the "commerce destroyers" or "corsair cruisers," "Columbia" and "Minneapolis," which were built about ten years ago and then reckoned as pioneers of a new and important class, are now reported to be under conversion into training-ships for the engineer corps. Their distinctive features were high speed, light armament, and moderate protection; but subsequently it has been concluded that greater fighting capability is essential and the type has not been multiplied.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the foregoing statements it will be obvious that the United States Navy, although its development was long deferred, has already attained a commanding position; and that, within the next two years, its relative standing will be enormously improved by bringing into line many powerful vessels, battle-ships and armored cruisers, now under construction. There is every reason for believing that this great naval development will be consistently maintained, and that the nation is in strong sympathy with the declared opinion of the President that, under existing conditions, a first-class Navy is essential to the well-being of the United States, to the maintenance of its over-sea possessions, and to the full development of its trade and manufactures.

Publicity in regard to naval affairs is the rule in the United States. In official documents are to be found the fullest details of designs for ships built and building, not even excluding submarines. There is much to be said in commendation of this practice. Secrecy is not easy to maintain; and, in regard to British vessels, information with respect to classes which are treated as strictly confidential can be, and is, acquired by those who are interested in knowing the trend of our naval policy. Without discussing whether the American model should be adopted in England, it is certain that the free publication of reports by the chiefs of the various bureaus in regard to the work proceeding under their direction, the hindrances that have occurred, the new departures that are contemplated, and the actual performances of vessels, have resulted in awakening and maintaining public interest in the United States Navy; and so have furthered the object which those directing its affairs have had most at heart, by rendering possible the provision of large sums required for the creation of a modern fleet.

Certain adjuncts, essential to the maintenance of the fleet, have, as yet, been dealt with only partially in America. The fact is fully recognized by those in authority. Docking facilities, for example, have not kept pace with the increase in the size and numbers of ships. The Navy-yards have not been equipped in the manner requisite for the proper performance of their duties in the repair and maintenance of recent ships, or in the construction of new vessels. No doubt, these requirements will be met in the near future.

The question of manning the American Navy is one of no small

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

difficulty. It was long a reproach that native-born Americans formed only a small proportion of the crews of commissioned ships; and Mr. Long gives amusing illustrations of what formerly occurred, although he takes credit for marked improvement in recent years. He naturally dwells upon the excellent work done by the Navy in the war with Spain, and the ready response then made to the exceptional demands for officers and men. But he recognizes also the necessity for better organization and larger provision in future if the Navy is to be fully efficient.

There is every reason for satisfaction in Great Britain at the position which the United States Navy has attained, and the brilliant prospects for its future. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the well-known fact that there is no disposition in the United States to look upon the British Navy as a possible foe when regulating its programmes of new construction. When dealing with the standard of power requisite for the Royal Navy, it is not usual to attach great importance to the vigorous action taken by the United States in recent years. There are, however, considerations of great moment affecting the relations of the United States to other Naval Powers, especially those who are making strenuous efforts to reach a commanding position in naval force. In considering the "balance of power" for the navies of the world, Englishmen are disposed to believe that every increase made by our transatlantic cousins in their naval force is an additional guarantee for the maintenance of the peace of the world, and the freedom of the sea, and so to welcome the policy which now finds favor in the United States.

WILLIAM WHITE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RAILWAY RATES AND THE MERGER DECISION.

BY CHARLES A. PROUTY, OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

Now that the effervescence succeeding the Northern Securities decision has subsided, it may be proper to inquire just what has been accomplished. What danger has been averted, and how?

The decision is treated as a blow at railroad monopoly. In just what way does railroad monopoly injure the public? Said the majority opinion of the court: "If this combination is legal, then all the railroads in the United States might be combined under one management." Suppose they were so combined, what harm would ensue?

The answer is obvious. The business of railroading is, next to agriculture, the most important in our country. The gross revenues of our railroads are nearly $2,000,000,000 annually, and this vast sum is in the nature of a tax laid by that species of property upon almost every other species. Transportation by rail is something which must be had upon any terms that are exacted; there is little opportunity for bargaining. If one man controlled all the railroads in this country, he could not impose whatever rates he saw fit, but he could impose rates which might be unjust and extortionate. Here lies the chief danger. It is mainly through the exorbitant price that this and every other kind of monopoly harms the public. The popular apprehension is that the Securities decision, by preventing the combination of competing railways, and thereby necessitating competition between them, will protect the public against unreasonable transportation charges. It is this claim which I wish to examine briefly. The evil has not been, and cannot well be, over-stated; to what extent does this decision tend to prevent it?

In order to appreciate the effect of the present decision, some

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reference must be made to previous decisions upon the same general subject. The first application of the Anti-Trust Act to railroads was in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case, to the understanding of which a word of history is necessary.

Most kinds of freight, under most circumstances, will move by the cheapest route. The greatest inducement which the freight solicitor can offer a shipper is a lower rate. Hence, in the strife for business, there is always a strong temptation to reduce the rate. A reduction in rate does not, however, proportionately stimulate the movement of traffic. Still further, it does not in the long run much affect the division of business between competing lines, since a reduction by one line is promptly met and usually improved upon by its competitor. It is evident that the common interest of all competing lines demands that the same rate shall be made and maintained by all.

These considerations, very early in the history of railroad operations, brought about attempts to agree upon competitive rates. As railroads multiplied, arrangements of this sort increased, until, at the time of the passage of the Act to Regulate Commerce, in 1887, almost every competitive rate was the subject of agreement. The means usually resorted to, previous to that date, for maintaining the agreed rate was pooling, a division of either tonnage or earnings. The Interstate Commerce Act prohibited pooling, but did not forbid agreement. The result was to do away, at least professedly, with the pool, but to intensify the idea of united action. The Associations which had grown up were continued, others came into being, and much thought was devoted to the ways and means by which competitive rates could be controlled. While the methods employed in different Associations were somewhat different, the essential feature was the same in all. A governing body was created, composed of the representatives of the different railways that were members of the Association, and this governing body determined what the rate should be. No rate could be reduced by a member of the Association, so long as it continued to be a member, if a majority of this board voted against it. The effect was to substitute for individual action the combined will of the Association, and to eliminate all competition from the making of competitive rates.

The Trans-Missouri Freight Association was one of these

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bodies, having jurisdiction of traffic to the southwest. Suit was brought to dissolve it, and this proceeding was sustained by the Supreme Court. It was held that the Sherman Act applied to railways; that an agreement touching the rates of freight charged for the movement of interstate traffic was an agreement in reference to interstate commerce; that, if the effect of the agreement was to restrain competition in the making of these rates, that was a restraint of interstate commerce; and that it was entirely immaterial whether the rates made and put into effect under this agreement were reasonable or unreasonable. In a single word, it was held that railways had no right to *agree* with respect to the making or maintaining of competitive rates applicable to the interstate movement of freight or passengers.

To this decision the railways at first refused to be reconciled. There was then in force what was known as the Joint Traffic Association, covering trunk-line territory and embracing some of the most important railway systems of the country. The scheme exemplified in this Association had been worked out with great care, and was supposed to represent the highest state of the art of controlling railway competition. Suit had been brought, prior to the decision of the Trans-Missouri case, to restrain the operation of the Joint Traffic agreement; and this, notwithstanding the decision of that case, was proceeded with before the Supreme Court. It was said that the Trans-Missouri case had not been properly presented to the court. No such mistake was made a second time. An ex-minister to England, a former chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, the leader of the metropolitan bar, to say nothing of a galaxy of inferior suns, any one of whom would alone have fully illuminated an ordinary case, appeared. Volumes of briefs were filed, and hours of oral argument employed, in the hope that the court, when confronted with the appalling consequences of its decision, might be induced to reconsider. In vain. The former holding was adhered to, and the Trans-Missouri decision became the settled law.

These decisions at the time produced almost as much commotion as the decision in the Northern Securities case has to-day. Upon the one hand, they were proclaimed as the death knell of railroad property. If railroads could not agree as to competitive rates, nothing remained but continual warfare and final destruction. Only the prompt intervention of Congress could avert

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these dire consequences. Upon the other hand was corresponding jubilation. Here was an end of railway monopoly. Competition must now resume its legitimate sway.

Such was the prediction; what was the result? Absolutely nothing. The opinion in the Joint Traffic case was promulgated on October 24th, 1898, and no corresponding period in recent years has seen fewer destructive rate wars than the one since then. Instead of railway disaster, there has been a continuous era of increasing railroad prosperity. Rates have not declined; upon the contrary, they began to advance soon after this decision, and they have been steadily advancing ever since. What is more to the purpose, the thing which this interpretation of the law was supposed to prohibit has, in fact, existed all along. The Trans-Missouri and the Joint Traffic Associations have ceased; the word "agreement" has been stricken from the articles of confederation between railways; in theory, each carrier acts independently of all others, but in practice there has been no considerable time, in any portion of our country, since the rendition of these decisions when competitive rates have not been, in fact, the subject of concerted action. Within the last five years, rates upon every important commodity in every section have been advanced. In no instance could the advance have been made by one line, unless a corresponding advance had been made by all competing lines. In many instances, the rate in one direction could not have been increased unless the corresponding rate in the opposite direction had also been increased. These advances have been made by all lines interested, have uniformly been for the same amounts and have generally taken effect upon the same day. I do not intimate that this has involved any violation of law upon the part of the carriers. About that, there may be a difference of opinion. Traffic officials insist that they are within the law. The important thing to be observed is, that advances in rates have not been prevented, nor reductions induced, as a result of the Trans-Missouri decision.

It may, however, be urged with some force that this arises from the fact that combination has taken the place of agreement. The attempt all along has been to find some method for controlling railway competition. At first the pool was resorted to, but this was taken away in 1887. Then came the agreement, and this was denied to railroads in 1898. Railroad operators were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thus forced to look for some other method of accomplishing the object in view, and this has been found in the combination of recent years. The extent to which this process of combination has proceeded is well known. It has been repeatedly shown in detail that, to-day, of the 200,000 miles of railroad in the United States, approximately 125,000 miles are controlled by a half-dozen individuals.

Now, have not the advances in rates been due to these combinations? And, if the combinations are now dissolved in pursuance of the Securities decision, will not the previous decision in the Trans-Missouri case then have effect and produce the result originally predicted? This plainly involves two questions: First, will the effect of the Northern Securities decision be to dissolve other combinations? Second, if it does, will there result such a condition as will prevent unreasonable railway charges?

The nature of the Northern Securities Company is well known. The Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railway Companies had together purchased the Burlington road, embracing some 8,000 miles of railway. Mr. Hill and his friends owned a controlling interest in the Great Northern, while Mr. Morgan and his associates held a corresponding interest in the Northern Pacific. The harmonious relations which this state of ownership induced had added largely to the market value of the stocks of those companies. So long as Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan lived and controlled each his respective property, there was small danger that these relations would be disturbed; but, in these days, it is not always possible to say in the morning who may control a given railroad in the evening. The problem presented was to substitute certainty for this uncertainty, and to turn the certainty into cash by merging the two competing lines in such a way that the thing when done should be permanent. To this end, the Northern Securities Company was organized, with a capital stock of $400,000,000; and its shares were exchanged in certain proportion for the shares of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Companies. Let it be carefully noted that the Securities Company was not created for the purpose of buying and operating railways. The total amount of cash paid in was but $30,000. It was a device, pure and simple, for merging these two rival lines. The Supreme Court has finally held, by a majority of one, that this transaction was in violation of the Sherman Act, and has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enjoined the execution of the project. How far does this apply to other railway combinations?

The Northern Securities Company was unique in the method of combination employed. It was, in effect, an agreement between owners of competing railroads to merge those roads into a single corporation. Most, if not all, other combinations of importance have been effected by an actual purchase of stock or the actual lease of property. Consider, for instance, the operations of the Pennsylvania Railroad in obtaining control of competing lines.

About one-third of the entire tonnage of the Pennsylvania Railroad is bituminous coal, and that same commodity constitutes an even larger percentage of the tonnage of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Norfolk & Western, and the Chesapeake & Ohio. These last three lines are in competition with the Pennsylvania in the carriage of this coal, not in the sense that they reach the same mines, but because they transport to common markets coal of the same quality, mined at substantially the same cost. These lines are also in competition with the Pennsylvania for almost all traffic between the West and the Atlantic seaboard, including export and import traffic through the Atlantic ports. The greatest difficulty had been experienced in controlling the competition between these lines, which were regarded in the traffic world as the most persistent disturbers of rates. In order to protect itself, the Pennsylvania went into the market and bought a sufficient amount of the capital stock of the Baltimore & Ohio and the Norfolk & Western Companies to dominate those lines. It does not, on the face of the record, own an absolute majority in either case, but it has enough to enable it to control any election, and since it became such owner, it has directed the policy of those companies. The Pennsylvania and the New York Central systems together occupy the same relation to the Chesapeake & Ohio. Is this proceeding upon the part of the Pennsylvania illegal?

By the first section of the Sherman Act, "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States," is made illegal. Plainly, the Northern Securities Company fell within that definition; it is equally plain that the Pennsylvania combination does not. That was no contract or agreement or conspiracy; it was a purchase of property in the open market. The seller probably neither knew nor cared how the stock was to be used.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The second section provides that, "every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, . . . any part of the trade or commerce among the several States" shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. Apparently the Pennsylvania Company has violated this section. It intended to, and did, monopolize a part of interstate transportation. It intended to, and did, restrain competition in the making of rates applicable to that transportation. It would, therefore, seem to be in contravention of law, provided Congress has the constitutional right to make the purchase of stock, when bought for that purpose, a crime. Whether the Supreme Court will so hold is still doubtful. Justice Brewer, in his concurring opinion, states that Mr. Hill might have purchased a controlling interest in the Northern Pacific stock, although he also owned a controlling interest in that of the Great Northern, and although he thereby acquired control of these competing railroads. If an individual may do this, because of his inalienable right to buy and sell legitimate property, why may not a corporation having authority thereto? If Mr. Cassatt, the President of the Pennsylvania Company, might purchase a control of the Norfolk & Western and the Baltimore & Ohio, owning at the same time a control of the Pennsylvania, why might not the Pennsylvania itself make that purchase?

Without attempting to forecast future decisions of the Supreme Court upon this subject, it is not too much to say that, in all human probability, the Northern Securities decision will not result in the dissolution of a single railroad combination now existing, except the Northern Securities Company itself, nor seriously interfere with the formation of other combinations. For fourteen years, this Government has been attempting to regulate railway rates by enforcing competition. At the end of that period, after two epoch-making decisions, we are confronted with increasing monopoly, with advancing rates, and with no probable relief in sight. Let it be assumed, however, that upon the strength of this present decision every combination is dissolved; what then? What protection would that afford?

Competition, as applied to private business operations, is well understood. Competition between rival railways, whose operations are not hampered by legal requirements, is possible in theory at least. It is difficult to see just what is meant by competition

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the rate between competing railways which observe the Interstate Commerce Law. Let us stop for a moment and think.

The Act to Regulate Commerce provides that every railroad shall file with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and post in its stations, the rates at which interstate traffic is transported; and these rates cannot be advanced except upon ten days' notice, nor reduced except upon three days' notice. Take two points like Chicago and New York City, which are connected by, say, a half-dozen lines of railway, all of which transport grain. The rate on this commodity must be the same by every line, for a difference of any appreciable amount would divert the traffic to the cheapest route. If one of these lines reduces the published rate, every other line must immediately reduce its rate. Now, assuming that the published rate is 20 cents, why should any one of these six competing lines reduce that rate? A reduction will not divert traffic to its line, because the reduction will be met by every other line. A reduction by all lines will not increase the amount of grain grown, certainly not in proportion to the loss of revenue. It might be thought that a reduction would induce the movement of grain by that route rather than by others; but there is an established relation between all routes, and a change in rate from Chicago to New York would be at once followed by a corresponding change from St. Louis to Baltimore and from Kansas City to Galveston. I am utterly unable to see, therefore, what should induce any one of these carriers to reduce its published rate, *so long as the law is observed.*

But, it is objected, there certainly has been such competition in the past. It has been stated that the Pennsylvania bought up parallel lines to prevent this very competition. All this is exactly true, but the nature of that competition should be carefully observed and remembered. It has consisted in the first instance in a violation of law, in secret reductions from the published rate. Very seldom has any competing line reduced the open tariff until it had reason to believe, or at least did believe, that its competitor had departed from that tariff.

This fact cannot be too emphatically stated, nor too carefully noted. Every person having acquaintance with actual conditions will recognize its truth. It is idle to say, as writers upon the railway side so often do, that there can be no such thing as railway competition in rates. Nothing more effectively disproves that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

statement than the history of the rates themselves. Such competition has meant preference and discrimination; since 1887, it has been in violation of the statute; but it has been effective. It has reduced the published rate for the time being, and the reductions have often been permanent. Even when altogether illicit, it has cheapened the cost of transportation. Secret concessions in the rates on bituminous coal have reduced the price of that commodity to consumers by millions of dollars annually, and the maintenance of those rates is to-day costing those same consumers a corresponding amount. This dilemma confronts us: Shall we have an observance of law and the high rate, or a disregard of law and the low rate? To put it in another form: Shall we adopt a system of railway regulation, in which the breach of one law is relied upon to secure the benefit of another?

But all this is theory and sentiment. The inquiry is: What would be the effect if every railway combination formed within recent years were dissolved? Would that induce the same competitive conditions, with the same effect upon railway charges, that formerly existed? In my own opinion, it would not; and, in support of that opinion, attention is called to the two following reasons:

First. It has never been difficult to secure the publication of any desired rate. The trouble has been found in maintaining that rate when published. The ideas of railroad managers upon this subject have undergone, within the last seven years, during which I have had a practical acquaintance with the matter, a material change. Formerly the traffic man most sought, whether as the chief traffic official of a great railway system, or the freight solicitor, was the man who could get the business, usually by a more or less adroit manipulation of rates. In fact, the traffic official, high or low, who cuts the rate and so disturbs the maintenance of rates, is guilty of an act the financial consequences of which are as if he had hurled a burning firebrand into the storehouse of his competitor, and thereby occasioned a conflagration which consumes his rival's property and finally his own. This has been recognized in theory from the first. It is to-day something more than sentiment. The owners of railway property have been looking into this matter. It has come to be understood in railway service that a maintenance of rates is the first consideration, and the very fact that the law forbids the pool, the agree-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment and every device of that kind, puts traffic men to an extent upon their honor, and renders odious a departure from that rule.

Second, and mainly. While it has always been a crime, under the Act to Regulate Commerce, to depart from the established tariff, it has never been possible, as a practical matter, to secure convictions for such infraction of the law. Many attempts were made with no result, and it had finally come to pass that no traffic man, when he cut the rate, much considered the inhibition of the statute or the consequences of its violation. In March, 1902, injunctions were granted, by the circuit court sitting in Chicago and Kansas City, against certain carriers, forbidding a departure from the published tariff. While the traffic man might risk an indictment, he did not care to face proceedings for contempt. The roads enjoined obeyed the injunction and insisted that their competitors should do the like. The effect was general; and, since that date, for the first considerable period of time since the law was enacted, tariff rates have been for the most part rigorously adhered to.

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that, as the law then stood, these injunctions were improperly issued; but the Elkins Act, which took effect in February, 1903, provided for the bringing of injunction suits of that character, so that to-day it is possible to accomplish everything which was done by those proceedings, although the proceedings themselves, at the time, had no warrant of law. The Elkins Act further prohibits, under a penalty of not less than $1,000 for each offence, all deviation from the tariff rates, and makes the corporation itself liable. The effect of the Elkins bill and the injunction proceedings has been to secure the maintenance of rates. That condition will probably continue. The self-interest of the railways will lend such strength to the present drastic statute as will stamp out, for the future, those cases of persistent rate-cutting which, in the past, have led to the demoralization of rates. It is altogether probable that, if every combination of the last six years were dissolved, if the conditions of railroad ownership were the same to-day as then, rates would be in the main observed. In that event, no substantial effect on rates could result from competition.

I do not mean that such competition would in no case exist, for there might and would be competition of a certain kind. At the present moment (April 2, 1904), the published rate on ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lake wheat from Buffalo to New York for export, is two mills per bushel. On January first, it was five cents per bushel, and that is about the normal winter rate. The cause of the present reduction is a contest between the different lines as to the relative rates which shall be applied to this traffic to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Lines leading to Philadelphia and Baltimore insisted that the rate to these ports should be less than the rate to New York, and they made it less. The New York lines thereupon met this rate, and so they have gone on making reductions and meeting rates, with the present result. There can be but one outcome. Very shortly, either the roads will agree upon the point in dispute, or it will be submitted to the decision of some disinterested person. Then the rates will be restored. Competition of this spasmodic sort will exist, but it benefits nobody.

A single illustration may illuminate this matter. In the spring of 1903, railways leading from the South advanced the rate on yellow-pine lumber to most Northern destinations two cents per hundred pounds. The aggregate amount produced by this advance has been estimated at from $6,000,000 to $8,000,000 annually, a neat bit of money, to be paid by somebody to somebody. That advance has been the subject of extended investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It grew out of no commercial condition. The traffic officials who made it all stated that the advance was made because the railways needed more revenue. It was a tax, laid by those who transport this lumber upon those for whom it is transported. The amount was in fact two cents per hundred pounds, but it might have been one cent or five cents. Now, in what way did competition, in what way could competition, between these railways determine whether any and what advance ought to have been made.

At least eight independent lines, many more companies than that, concurred in this action; and it may be said that, had the law as interpreted in the Trans-Missouri case been enforced, the advance could not have been made at all. Upon that assumption, how does the matter stand? The railways earnestly insist that the previous rate was too low, that the increase was reasonable, and they produce weighty reasons in support of that contention. It is possible, certainly, that they are right. They must, therefore, if they could not lawfully advance the rate, continue to accept indefinitely less than a just sum for the performance of this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

service. Let the thoughtful man, after careful meditation upon this actual example, which is typical of nine-tenths of the increases which have been made, say in what way competition between railways can fairly determine the reasonableness of the charges which they impose upon the public.

There is no desire to belittle the importance of the Northern Securities decision. All people commend the courage of the President in instituting that proceeding, and the vigor and ability of the Department of Justice in prosecuting it. The indirect effect may be important. The holding company has been pronounced unlawful as a means of merging competing railroads. When it is remembered that but thirty thousand dollars in cash was required to place under one control eighteen thousand miles of railway, it will be seen that this method of manipulation has possibilities which, in certain conditions of the public financial mind, are unlimited. When it is further remembered that the Northern Securities Company enormously increased the capitalization of the three properties embraced, thereby creating out of nothing a volume of bonds and stocks upon which interest and dividends must be eventually paid by the public, and that the holding company especially lends itself to proceedings of this kind, it will be realized that the decision may be most salutary.

Neither do I wish to be understood as expressing an opinion that unlimited railway combination should be permitted. That is a subject by itself. I simply desire to point out in explicit terms that this decision leaves the question of regulating railway charges exactly where it has been. Broadly speaking, there is no probability that any rate will ever be reduced or that any advance will ever be prevented by it.

The word "competition" is dear to the Anglo-Saxon mind, and with reason; for, during years of unparalleled industrial and commercial development, it has stood as a rampart against the exactions of monoply. There are many—of whom the writer is one—who believe that it may still be relied upon, in private enterprises, for protection against the undue concentration of capital, so long as the avenues of transportation are open and the supply of raw material accessible to all alike. Wipe out the discriminations in railway tariffs in favor of the Standard Oil Company, and that monopoly cannot long impose an unreasonable price on its product. Even the United States Steel Corporation,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unless it can acquire a monopoly of iron ore, or an advantage in the cost of transporting its product, cannot permanently maintain unreasonable prices. But a distinction must be made, in all these trust discussions, between private enterprises and those public functions which are discharged by private capital. No law compelling competition between its street-car lines could secure to the City of New York a reasonable fare. Chicago will not obtain seventy-five-cent gas as a result of enforced competition between gas companies. Competition may in the past have reduced car fares and gas prices, but it is absurd to say that it can regulate those prices. So of our railroads. In the past there has been the most active competition, which has resulted in great reductions in rates; but that competition no longer exists, and something else must be substituted for it.

There is but one way to regulate railway charges, and that is to regulate them. If a rate is found unreasonable, a reasonable rate must be put in the place of it. This method is legal, as has been affirmed by courts without number. It is feasible. Every civilized country in the world employs it to-day, except our own. Even the Dominion of Canada, within the past year, has adopted that system. It is just to all parties, and no other method is.

However, it is not the present purpose to discuss railway regulation, but simply to demonstrate that it never can be secured by enforced competition. The Auditor of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in reply to a resolution of the Senate asking for information, has estimated that advances in railway rates made during the last four years would, if applied to the movement of traffic for the year ending June 30th, 1903, amount to $155,000,000. This enormous sum represents, in most instances, an arbitrary tax laid, as in the case of the lumber rate, by the railways upon the public. I do not charge that any portion of this is unjust; but I do insist that, in view of the nature of the service which our railways render and the circumstances under which their rates are imposed, some way should be devised by which the reasonableness of these charges can be investigated and passed upon by the Government. This should be done cautiously; it should be done fairly; but it should be done. No other phase of the trust problem compares with this in importance.

CHARLES A. PROUTY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE GENIUS OF MR. JOSEPH CONRAD.

BY HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.

"I DO not like work—no man does," says Mr. Joseph Conrad in one of his books, speaking through the mouth of Marlow, a nomad of the seas, whom we must regard as the author's *alter ego*. "But I like what is in work,—the chance to find yourself. Your own reality,—for yourself, not for others,—what no other man can know. They can only see the mere show, and never can tell what it really means." The last clause of this paragraph contains, at the best, but a half-truth; for though work that has permanent value must always, almost of necessity, mean far more to the man who has put into it his whole soul than it conceivably can to others, the latter may, none the less, find in it the supreme attraction which Marlow, or Mr. Conrad, here claims for work in the abstract—the chance of seeing in it a revelation of the essence of the man who wrought it. This is the case to a more than usual degree with the books to which Mr. Conrad has put his name; and, therefore, a complete understanding of them and of their true significance is hardly to be won without the aid of some general information concerning their author. The books themselves reveal to us a personality distinct, individual, strange, even a little enigmatical: a knowledge of the circumstances which formed and moulded it is necessary as supplying a commentary to the text, an explanation of much that otherwise is baffling. I have scant sympathy with the modern practice of lifting the curtain of privacy, of recording the incidents of a man's life for the satisfaction of an idle and unwholesome curiosity; but the work which Mr. Conrad has produced and is producing comes to us as the result, not only of an accretion of individual experience, but of a peculiar temperament which demands study for the proper comprehension of that to which it has given birth.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Conrad's books, I say it without fear of contradiction, have no counterparts in the entire range of English literature. They are peculiarly, arrestingly original. That is their key-note, their greatest distinction, alike in their thought and in their manner. The matter is, in a sense, the common property of all the world, or of that section of the world which has roamed widely; but, from the outset, the reader is made conscious of an intensely individual point of view, a special outlook upon life, of a constructive imagination working upon lines different to those common to Englishmen, of a profound comprehension of the psychology of a certain class of character, and withal of a sombre force and a forthright sincerity that compel recognition of the essential truth revealed. The manner, as opposed to the matter, is even more striking, even more original. It is wholly unlike that of any writer who has hitherto used the English language as his vehicle of expression, and may indeed be regarded, in some sort, as embodying a discovery of yet another use to which our tongue can be put. Curiously free from the trammels of recognized convention, at times rugged and even harsh, packed with phrases which, while they create the precise impression aimed at as they alone could do, yet have about them a certain exotic flavor, Mr. Conrad's style is one obviously born in its author, not fashioned painfully by his ingenuity, and so is felt to be free from all taint of affectation. Just as the Apostles after Pentecost "began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance," so Mr. Conrad writes with the utterance that is *given* to him, the utterance which is his through the circumstances of birth, race, experience, training and even tradition, all of which, in his case, are widely different to those of any other great figure in English literature, ancient or modern. Behind and beyond and above this lies the power, the instinct, the genius, call it what you will, which alone enables a man to give articulate and artistic expression to his deeper thoughts, feelings and impressions, which makes these things take a form that can appeal forcibly to the intelligence of others; for, lacking this indefinable quality, the most original mind would be doomed, so far as literature is concerned, to silence and to obscurity.

It appears to me, therefore, that, before proceeding to an examination of Mr. Conrad's works, the main features of the author's history must be glanced at, since the latter are intimately

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

connected with the former, are interwoven with them, and are, even, to some extent, the causes of which the books are the necessary, the inevitable, result. Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski, to give him for once the surname which, irritated doubtless by persistent mispronunciation, he has now for many years been content to drop, was born in Poland in 1856. The French language he acquired in infancy, together with his native tongue; but of English, which he uses to-day with such supreme success, he learned not a single word until he had attained his nineteenth year. The spirit of the nomad awoke in him early; and, in this age, the sea —the great highway which leads men up and down the world— speedily claims for its own those who have in them the itch of travel. None the less, his first adventure, undertaken when he was a mere lad, was a journey to Constantinople, his ambition being to fight for the Turks, then at war with Russia, the hereditary enemy of his country. Failing to obtain employment of the kind he sought, he next made a couple of voyages to the West Indies in a French ship, obtaining work as what, in the Australian Colonies, is called a "rouseabout." The life was probably hard enough, but by this time the sea had gripped the imaginative youngster, had asserted over him a sway not easily relaxed. To Europe, therefore, he returned in due course, his heart set upon making seamanship his profession.

Looking about him—this was in the days long before the age of the great shipping combines—he saw that the mistress of the sea was England, that her mercantile marine was the one which could offer to the adventurous spirit the amplest opportunity of wandering. To England, accordingly, he came, settling down in Lowestoft; making the acquaintance of as many seafaring folk as possible, and presently shipping as an able seaman on board a coasting-vessel owned and commanded by one of his new friends. Studying the technicalities of his chosen profession with eager curiosity, Mr. Conrad was soon able to satisfy the requirements of the Board of Trade, and to obtain his mate's certificate, armed with which he made his first voyage to the East. The story of that voyage, and of the calamities which befell the ill-fated "Judea," has since been wonderfully told by Mr. Conrad in the sketch called "Youth," in which also is set forth the first impression wrought upon a virgin mind by the marvel, the glitter and the glory, of the East. Here is one passage. Marlow and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his companions, escaping from the wreck, arrive at night at an Eastern port, and fall into the sleep of utter exhaustion.

"When I opened my eyes again, the silence was as complete as though it had never been broken. I was lying in a flood of light, and the sky had never looked so far, so high, before. I opened my eyes and lay without moving. And then I saw the men of the East—they were looking at me. The whole length of the jetty was full of people. I saw brown, bronze, yellow faces, the black eyes, the glitter, the color of an Eastern crowd. And all these beings stared without a murmur, without a sigh, without a movement. They stared down at the boats, at the sleeping men who at night had come to them from the sea. Nothing moved. The fronds of palms stood still against the sky. Not a branch stirred along the shore, and the brown roofs of hidden houses peeped through the green foliage, through the big leaves that hung shining and still, like leaves forged of heavy metal. This was the East of the ancient navigators, so old, so mysterious, resplendent and sombre, living and unchanged, full of danger and promise. And these were the men. I sat up suddenly. A wave of movement passed through the crowd from end to end, passed along the heads, swayed the bodies, ran along the jetty like a ripple on the water, like a breath of wind on a field—and all was still again. I see it now—the wide sweep of the bay, the glittering sands, the wealth of green, infinite and varied, the sea blue like the sea of a dream, the crowd of attentive faces, the blaze of vivid color—the water reflecting it all, the curve of the shore, the jetty, the high-sterned, outlandish craft floating still, and the three boats with the tired men from the West sleeping, unconscious of the land and the people and the violence of sunshine. . . . The East looked at them without a sound. I have known its fascination since: I have seen the mysterious shores, the still water, the lands of brown nations, where a stealthy Nemesis lies in wait, pursues, overtakes so many of the conquering race, who are proud of their wisdom, of their knowledge, of their strength. But, for me, all the East is contained in that vision of my youth. It is all in that moment when I opened my young eyes on it. I came upon it from a tussle with the sea—and I was young—and I saw it looking at me. And this is all that is left of it! Only a moment; a moment of strength, of romance, of glamour—of youth!"

That is a description typical of Mr. Conrad's quality—the tiny picture, clean-cut as a cameo, that imprints itself upon the imagination, and yet has clinging about it the half-mystical haze of fancy and of sentiment which is one of the secrets of this writer's magic; but to me it possesses an added interest, because it is so obviously transcribed from a vivid and undimmed memory, because it shows that the man who saw it in his boyhood, and looked on it with the seeing eye, was even then noting, observing,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pondering, above all *thinking,* was accumulating, atom by atom, stores of knowledge, of experience, impressions of men and of things, all of which were destined later to be put to so splendid a use, though he was at the time altogether unconscious of the power latent within him.

For nearly a score of years this process was continued, Mr. Conrad roaming abroad through the world of sea and land, in sailing-vessels and steam-tramps, on clippers or crawlers, hugging treacherous coast-lines, wriggling through the narrow waters of the archipelagoes, creeping up and down the channels of distant rivers, struggling with angry waves, or passing, day after day and night after night, across the unruffled ocean beneath domed skies empty of life. For nearly twenty years he visited half the ports of all the earth, rubbed shoulders with most of the races of mankind, and everywhere looked upon all things with the seeing eye which delved beneath the surface. What an education it was! He was distracted by no mere penman's zeal for the collection of "copy," had no thought of any artistic use to which in after years his slowly accumulated wisdom might be put: for the time, his whole being was concentrated upon the work of observing, simply because it was his nature to observe, and because the task brought to him an intense delight. His profession of seaman, which gave to him his fill of wandering, revealed to him uncounted things of which he had not dreamed, satisfied him utterly. He loved the sea and his mastery of the sea—the long, lazy, uneventful intervals, and now and again a fight for the life; and all this while he never put pen to paper save to write up his log-book, or at rare seasons to compose a reluctant letter to his relatives in Poland when decency demanded such filial labor. But though he did not write, he read widely in two languages, English and French, the literary instinct in him driving him to select only the best ancient and modern works in those great literatures. Here again, still quite unconsciously, Mr. Conrad was arming, educating himself for the work which the future held for him; and what he learned became an integral portion of the man, because it was not acquired hurriedly and laboriously as a means to an end, but instinctively, gradually, slowly, lovingly, from sheer delight in the pleasure that it brought to him. And so, in the fulness of time, came the season of harvest following upon this long and mighty sowing.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It was in 1894 that Mr. Conrad was seized, suddenly and inexplicably, by a desire to rest. Almost from boyhood he had been a wanderer upon the face of the earth, had "labored in mid-ocean, wind and wave and oar,": now for a little space he would be idle, and would live ashore. Accordingly, he took lodgings somewhere in the Vauxhall Bridge Road—the "long, unlovely street" from which poor James Thomson, looking forth, beheld the woeful vision of "The City of Dreadful Night"—and made up his mind that for six whole months he would live indolently out of sight of the sea. He speedily discovered that idleness was very hard work. A toiler from his youth upward, inaction such as this irked him sorely; yet his pride would not suffer him to return to the sea which called to him so loudly. He had promised himself six months ashore, and six whole months he would spend on the dry land. But how fill this aching void of empty, useless hours? Then the spirit which had led him from the beginning, though he had been unconscious of its guiding hand, whispered in his ear. "Write!" it commanded, "Write!" He had just finished an engagement which had taken him, month in and month out, from Singapore to the ports of the east coast of Borneo. The impression of that island and of many of the men and women who lived there was fresh in his mind. Picture after picture, portrait after portrait rose up upon the retina of his memory, jostling one another, clamoring to be painted as he, he suddenly felt, alone could paint them. Material in abundance, unsought, but garnered unconsciously during many years, time, opportunity, all were his. An overpowering impulse to use these things was upon him, for genius, like murder, will out; so now, at the age of thirty-eight, the long period of probation and apprenticeship was ended, and Mr. Joseph Conrad had come to his own at last.

The fact that he debated within himself seriously as to the choice of the language in which he should elect to write, will be found to be full of significance to any thoughtful student of his work. French at first attracted him more than English. Flaubert and Guy de Maupassant fascinated him as did no modern English authors, and, so far as he can be said to have any literary parents, they are to be sought for in France, not in England or America. The love of the one and only word was a passion born quick and whole in him, and for a space he thought that the more delicate,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subtle and dainty speech would best serve his purposes. But for many years he had sailed under the old Red Ensign; his friends were mostly English; his sympathies were with the men of English race whom he had found scattered through the crannies of the world. Men of British breed, it seemed to him, would perhaps understand the things of which he had to tell as no other men could do. In the end, therefore, he decided upon the use of English; but admiration of the French stylists, of French delicacy and workmanship, of French subtlety, of French illusiveness and allusiveness, remained strong in him, and to this influence he owes not a little of the force, the vividness, the distinction of his prose. Let any man possessed of the critical faculty read a page of Mr. Conrad's work with this knowledge in his mind, and he will find that a very real light is cast thereby upon the more effective peculiarities of his style. Add to this, that the author is a Sclav by birth and tradition, and that he possesses in an intensified form the sombre but strongly individual outlook of his people, and it will be recognized that he combines in his person a mental equipment of so unusual a character that, backed as it is by literary instinct and ability of a very high order, it could not fail to produce remarkable results.

The first book, begun in the circumstances which have been described, and finished after the author had returned to his ordinary avocations and was commanding a steam-launch on the Congo, was "Almayer's Folly," published in 1895. Like "An Outcast of the Islands," which appeared in the following year, it described certain phases of life on the east coast of Borneo, the central character in each case being a Dutchman. In the analysis of these white men Mr. Conrad achieved a considerable success, the lonely, broken, melancholy Almayer, with the altruism of strong affection forcing itself upward through his mean and trivial ambitions, being a peculiarly arresting figure. He was a creation—no mere puppet of mechanical contrivance—a man, intensely pathetic in his failure and his impotence, very weak, very human, very lovable, and the story of his tragedy moves us deeply. Similarly, Willems, the Outcast, is a character which exists, in which we cannot but believe. He is vital as truth itself, and the study of his degradation is as pitiless as it is strong. The Orientals in both these books, however, are much less successful. To me they are interesting, not because they are really Asiatics,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but because they represent the impression scored by Asiatics upon a sensitive, imaginative, European mind. Mr. Conrad had seen them and known them, but he had seen as white men see—from the outside. He had never lived into the life of brown people. The whole *motif* of "Almayer's Folly"—the attraction which a Bugis chief has for the Dutchman's half-caste daughter—is based upon a misunderstanding. It is in the Eurasian that color-prejudice and contemptuous hatred of the native have their culmination. Almayer's life might well have held a tragedy for him and for his children, but it would have come to them by no such channel as that here imagined by Mr. Conrad.

This, however, is a matter of only secondary importance. True or false, the figures in these books live for us, and above and beyond them are the power of presentment, the marvellous faculty for the absolute creation of atmosphere, the genius for description, and the individual, finished style which these, Mr. Conrad's earliest works, display. Take, for instance, this picture of a Malayan daybreak:

"The smooth darkness filling the shutter-hole grew paler and became blotchy with ill-defined shapes, as if a new universe were being evolved out of sombre chaos. Then outlines came out, defining forms without any details, indicating here a tree, there a bush; a black belt of forest far off; the straight lines of a house, the ridge of a high roof near by. Inside the hut, Babalatchi, who had lately been only a persuasive voice, became a human shape leaning its chin imprudently on the muzzle of a gun and rolling an uneasy eye over the reappearing world. The day came rapidly, dismal and oppressed by the fog of the river and by the heavy vapors of the sky—a day without color and without sunshine: incomplete, disappointing, sad."

That, to one who knows by heart the melancholy dawns of southern Asia, is well-nigh perfect, yet it loses by divorcement from its context, for it is used with consummate art to give just the touch of sombre mystery which the narrative there needs.

In 1898 two new books appeared, "Tales of Unrest," a collection of five short stories, and "The Nigger of the 'Narcissus.'" The former displayed all the qualities of Mr. Conrad's earlier books, the tales called "Karain" and "The Lagoon," respectively, containing some marvellous descriptive passages. Both these stories, however, dealt with the psychology of Asiatics, and to the expert were interesting rather than satisfying. "The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nigger," on the other hand, gave us, for the first time, Mr. Conrad at his very best. Of "plot" it had barely a vestige, but Mr. Conrad proved himself to be independent of the mere constructive faculty. It told of a voyage from Bombay to an English port round the Cape of Good Hope in a sailing-ship; the characters were all seamen of the British merchant service; there was not a woman's name from cover to cover; the hero was a malingering negro. No machinery could conceivably have been more simple, and nothing short of genius could have served to put it to such splendid use. In an interesting note, published in the "New Review" for December, 1897, Mr. Conrad set forth his theories of art, and from this interesting human document one passage may be quoted here.

"It is only through complete, unswerving devotion to the perfect blending of form and substance; it is only through an unremitting, never-discouraged care for the shape and the ring of sentences that an approach can be made to plasticity, to color; and the light of magic suggestiveness may be brought to play for an evanescent instant over the commonplace surface of words: of the old, old words, worn thin, defaced by ages of careless usage. The sincere endeavor to accomplish that creative task, to go as far on that road as his strength will carry him, to go undeterred by faltering, weariness or reproach, is the only valid justification for the worker in prose. And if his conscience is clear, his answer to those who, in the fulness of a wisdom which looks for immediate profit, demand specifically to be edified, consoled, amused; who demand to be promptly improved, or encouraged, or frightened, or shocked, or charmed, must run thus: My task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word to make you hear, to make you feel—it is, before all, to make you *see*. That—and no more, and it is everything. If I succeed, you shall find there according to your deserts; encouragement, consolation, fear, charm—all you demand; and, perhaps, also that glimpse of truth for which you have forgotten to ask."

That, in a few words, is a statement of Mr. Conrad's literary creed, and with what triumphant success has he attained to his ideal! "The Nigger" is a book which must be read from cover to cover: it cannot be dealt with fairly by extract or quotation. But he who reads it, or "Youth," or "Typhoon," or any of Mr. Conrad's works, will be made to hear, to feel—before all, to *see;* he will find himself deafened by the roar of the storm, aching in sympathy with the weary men who cling to the canting deck, and realizing the individuality of each of them so vividly that he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would recognize any one among them were he to meet him in the street. Whether we ask for it or no, we have in Mr. Conrad's books more than a glimpse of the truth, truth vital and eternal,—the thing that is wonderfully depicted, yet veiled by the mystery and magic of imaginative art.

"The Nigger" marks an epoch in Mr. Conrad's literary career, because it proved him to possess, in addition to his other qualities, extraordinary psychological insight of a peculiar kind, and showed that his mind—the mind of the Sclav, more delicate and more subtle than the mind of the Englishman,—was able to analyze human nature in a fashion distinctively its own. Since 1898, three more books have come from Mr. Conrad's pen—"Lord Jim," "Youth," and "Typhoon,"—the first an elaborate psychological study, the others collections of short stories. Space forbids a detailed examination of these volumes, any one of which would suffice to make the reputation of an author. Of the three, "Lord Jim" is the most important, and, indeed, is in some respects the greatest of Mr. Conrad's books. On the other hand, it suffers because we are asked to believe that the story as written was told by the seaman Marlow to his friends after dinner, an illusion which it is impossible to sustain. "Lord Jim" resembles nothing more nearly than some delicate piece of mosaic, of which each of the myriad tiny fragments that compose it is essential to the whole. It is built up, sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph, almost word by word, and lacking any phrase it would be marred and incomplete. In a word it is *written,* as in this age of speed and hurry few books are written; but, putting aside all question of its length, the very subtlety of this study of a man's soul makes its delivery by word of mouth in the circumstances described a sheer impossibility.

"Youth" and "Typhoon," though conceived upon a smaller scale, contain work no whit less remarkable than "Lord Jim" with its host of living characters. In the former volume, "The Heart of Darkness" grips me as does no other short story in our literature. From its opening, with the description of the sea-reach of the Thames and thoughts of the days when Britain too was a land of Darkness to the Roman invaders, the mystery and the gloom of savage places obsesses the imagination. The description of the great African river crawling seaward through the sombre forest, of the incomprehensible savage life upon its banks,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the mean and paltry schemers who exploit that vast wilderness, fascinates, possesses and oppresses you with its insistent horror. And so, step by step, you are led up to Mr. Kurtz, the man to whom the wilderness had whispered "things about himself which he did not know, things of which he had no conception till he took counsel with that great solitude," and the culmination of horror is reached in this high priest of the innermost shrine of the Heart of Darkness.

In a wholly different strain are told the stories of the old sea-captain, toiling for the daughter whom he loves, and concealing for her sake the blindness which is creeping over him; of Falk, the man who survived because he was the fittest, but at the price of devouring human flesh; of the girl whom Falk loved, the girl of opulent charms, who exists as a being so completely realized, yet who never speaks a word in our hearing; of the great typhoon, its fury and its might thrown up wonderfully upon the background of a dense, slow, heavy mind—the mind of the captain, who brings his ship to port through sheer inability to appreciate the tremendous character of his antagonist. All these and their fellows, whom I cannot even name, live for us. They are vital, full of meaning, true. In every instance, to use Mr. Conrad's own phrase, he has "snatched, in a moment of courage, from the remorseless rush of time, a passing phase of life," and, approaching the task "in tenderness and faith," he has held up "unquestioningly, without choice and without fear, the rescued fragment before all eyes and in the light of a sincere mood." He has shown "its vibration, its color, its form; and through its movement, its form and its color, has revealed the substance of its truth—has disclosed its inspiring secret: the stress and passion within the core of each convincing moment."

His is a notable achievement, a tremendous success, and we have cause for thankfulness because circumstances have chanced to give to this man of keen observation, delicate perception and subtle intelligence a unique training and experience, and withal so complete a mastery over our magnificent language—the language which he only began to learn in his nineteenth year.

HUGH CLIFFORD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LYNCHING FROM A NEGRO'S POINT OF VIEW.

BY MARY CHURCH TERRELL, HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN.

BEFORE 1904 was three months old, thirty-one negroes had been lynched. Of this number, fifteen were murdered within one week in Arkansas, and one was shot to death in Springfield, Ohio, by a mob composed of men who did not take the trouble to wear masks. Hanging, shooting and burning black men, women and children in the United States have become so common that such occurrences create but little sensation and evoke but slight comment now. Those who are jealous of their country's fair name feel keenly the necessity of extirpating this lawlessness, which is so widespread and has taken such deep root. But means of prevention can never be devised, until the cause of lynching is more generally understood.

The reasons why the whole subject is deeply and seriously involved in error are obvious. Those who live in the section where nine-tenths of the lynchings occur do not dare to tell the truth, even if they perceive it. When men know that the death-knell of their aspirations and hopes will be sounded as soon as they express views to which the majority in their immediate vicinage are opposed, they either suppress their views or trim them to fit the popular mind. Only martyrs are brave and bold enough to defy the public will, and the manufacture of martyrs in the negro's behalf is not very brisk just now. Those who do not live in the section where most of the lynchings occur borrow their views from their brothers who do, and so the errors are continually repeated and inevitably perpetuated.

In the discussion of this subject, four mistakes are commonly made.

In the first place, it is a great mistake to suppose that rape is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the real cause of lynching in the South. Beginning with the Ku-Klux Klan, the negro has been constantly subjected to some form of organized violence ever since he became free. It is easy to prove that rape is simply the pretext and not the cause of lynching. Statistics show that, out of every hundred negroes who are lynched, from seventy-five to eighty-five are not even accused of this crime, and many who are accused of it are innocent. And, yet, men who admit the accuracy of these figures gravely tell the country that lynching can never be suppressed, until negroes cease to commit a crime with which less than one-fourth of those murdered by mobs are charged.

The prevailing belief that negroes are not tortured by mobs unless they are charged with the "usual" crime, does not tally with the facts. The savagery which attended the lynching of a man and his wife the first week in March of the present year was probably never exceeded in this country or anywhere else in the civilized world. A white planter was murdered at Doddsville, Miss., and a negro was charged with the crime. The negro fled, and his wife, who was known to be innocent, fled with him to escape the fate which she knew awaited her, if she remained. The two negroes were pursued and captured, and the following account of the tragedy by an eye-witness appeared in the "Evening Post," a Democratic daily of Vicksburg, Miss.

"When the two negroes were captured, they were tied to trees, and while the funeral pyres were being prepared they were forced to suffer the most fiendish tortures. The blacks were forced to hold out their hands while one finger at a time was chopped off. The fingers were distributed as souvenirs. The ears of the murderers were cut off. Holbert was beaten severely, his skull was fractured, and one of his eyes, knocked out with a stick, hung by a shred from the socket. Neither the man nor the woman begged for mercy, nor made a groan or plea. When the executioner came forward to lop off fingers, Holbert extended his hand without being asked. The most excruciating form of punishment consisted in the use of a large corkscrew in the hands of some of the mob. This instrument was bored into the flesh of the man and the woman, in the arms, legs and body, and then pulled out, the spirals tearing out big pieces of raw, quivering flesh every time it was withdrawn. Even this devilish torture did not make the poor brutes cry out. When finally they were thrown on the fire and allowed to be burned to death, this came as a relief to the maimed and suffering victims."

The North frequently sympathizes with the Southern mob, because it has been led to believe the negro's diabolical assaults

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon white women are the chief cause of lynching. In spite of the facts, distinguished representatives from the South are still insisting, in Congress and elsewhere, that "whenever negroes, cease committing the crime of rape, the lynchings and burnings will cease with it." But since three-fourths of the negroes who have met a violent death at the hands of Southern mobs have not been accused of this crime, it is evident that, instead of being the "usual" crime, rape is the most unusual of all the crimes for which negroes are shot, hanged and burned.

Although Southern men of prominence still insist that "this crime is more responsible for mob violence than all other crimes combined," it is gratifying to observe that a few of them, at least, are beginning to feel ashamed to pervert the facts. During the past few years, several Southern gentlemen, of unquestioned ability and integrity, have publicly exposed the falsity of this plea. Two years ago, in a masterful article on the race problem, Professor Andrew Sledd, at that time an instructor in a Southern college, admitted that only a small number of the negroes who are lynched are even accused of assaulting white women. Said he:

> "On the contrary, a frank consideration of all the facts, with no other desire than to find the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, however contrary to our wishes and humiliating to our section the truth may be, will show that by far the most of our Southern lynchings are carried through in *sheer, unqualified and increasing brutality.*"

But a heavy penalty was paid by this man who dared to make such a frank and fearless statement of facts. He was forced to resign his position as professor, and lost prestige in his section in various ways. In the summer of 1903, Bishop Candler of Georgia made a strong protest against lynching, and called attention to the fact that, out of 128 negroes who had been done to death in 1901, only 16 were even accused of rape.

In the second place, it is a mistake to suppose that the negro's desire for social equality sustains any relation whatsoever to the crime of rape. According to the testimony of eye-witnesses, as well as the reports of Southern newspapers, the negroes who are known to have been guilty of assault have, as a rule, been ignorant, repulsive in appearance and as near the brute creation as it is possible for a human being to be. It is safe to assert that, among the negroes who have been guilty of ravishing white women, not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one had been taught that he was the equal of white people or had ever heard of social equality. And if by chance he had heard of it, he had no clearer conception of its meaning than he had of the principle of the binomial theorem. In conversing with a large number of ignorant negroes, the writer has never found one who seemed to have any idea of what social equality means, or who expressed a desire to put this theory into practice when it was explained to him.

Negroes who have been educated in Northern institutions of learning with white men and women, and who for that reason might have learned the meaning of social equality and have acquired a taste for the same, neither assault white women nor commit other crimes, as a rule. A careful review of the facts will show that negroes who have the "convention habit" developed to a high degree, or who are able to earn their living by editing newspapers, do not belong to the criminal class, although such negroes are always held up by Southern gentlemen as objects of ridicule, contempt and scorn. Strange as it may appear, illiterate negroes, who are the only ones contributing largely to the criminal class, are coddled and caressed by the South. To the educated, cultivated members of the race, they are held up as bright and shining examples of what a really good negro should be. The dictionary is searched in vain by Southern gentlemen and gentlewomen for words sufficiently ornate and strong to express their admiration for a dear old "mammy" or a faithful old "uncle," who can neither read nor write, and who assure their white friends they would not, if they could.

On the other hand, no language is sufficiently caustic, bitter and severe, to express the disgust, hatred and scorn which Southern gentlemen feel for what is called the "New Issue," which, being interpreted, means, negroes who aspire to knowledge and culture, and who have acquired a taste for the highest and best things in life. At the door of this "New Issue," the sins and shortcomings of the whole race are laid. This "New Issue" is beyond hope of redemption, we are told, because somebody, nobody knows who, has taught it to believe in social equality, something, nobody knows what. The alleged fear of social equality has always been used by the South to explain its unchristian treatment of the negro and to excuse its many crimes. How many crimes have been committed, and how many falsehoods

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been uttered, in the name of social equality by the South! Of all these, the greatest is the determination to lay lynching at its door. In the North, which is the only section that accords the negro the scrap of social equality enjoyed by him in the United States, he is rarely accused of rape. The only form of social equality ever attempted between the two races, and practised to any considerable extent, is that which was originated by the white masters of slave women, and which has been perpetuated by them and their descendants even unto the present day. Of whatever other crime we may accuse the big, black burly brute, who is so familiar a figure in the reports of rape and lynching-bees sent out by the Southern press, surely we cannot truthfully charge him with an attempt to introduce social equality into this republican form of government, or to foist it upon a democratic land. There is no more connection between social equality and lynching to-day than there was between social equality and slavery before the war, or than there is between social equality and the convict-lease system, or any other form of oppression to which the negro has uniformly been subjected in the South.

The third error on the subject of lynching consists of the widely circulated statement that the moral sensibilities of the best negroes in the United States are so stunted and dull, and the standard of morality among even the leaders of the race is so low, that they do not appreciate the enormity and heinousness of rape. Those who claim to know the negro best and to be his best friends declare, that he usually sympathizes with the black victim of mob violence rather than with the white victim of the black fiend's lust, even when he does not go so far as to condone the crime of rape. Only those who are densely ignorant of the standards and sentiments of the best negroes, or who wish wilfully to misrepresent and maliciously to slander a race already resting under burdens greater than it can bear, would accuse its thousands of reputable men and women of sympathizing with rapists, either black or white, or of condoning their crime. The negro preachers and teachers who have had the advantage of education and moral training, together with others occupying positions of honor and trust, are continually expressing their horror of this one particular crime, and exhorting all whom they can reach by voice or pen to do everything in their power to wash the ugly stain of rape from the race's good name. And whenever the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slightest pity for the victim of mob violence is expressed by a negro who represents the intelligence and decency of his race, it is invariably because there is a reasonable doubt of his innocence, rather than because there is condonation of the alleged crime.

Everybody who is well informed on the subject of lynching knows that many a negro who has been accused of assault or murder, or other violation of the law, and has been tortured to death by a mob, has afterward been proved innocent of the crime with which he was charged. So great is the thirst for the negro's blood in the South, that but a single breath of suspicion is sufficient to kindle into an all-consuming flame the embers of hatred ever smouldering in the breasts of the fiends who compose a typical mob. When once such a bloodthirsty company starts on a negro's trail, and the right one cannot be found, the first available specimen is sacrificed to their rage, no matter whether he is guilty or not.

A white man who died near Charleston, South Carolina, in March of the present year, confessed on his death-bed that he had murdered his wife, although three negroes were lynched for this crime at Ravenel, South Carolina, in May, 1902. This murder was one of the most brutal ever committed in the State, and the horrible tortures to which the three innocent negroes were subjected indicated plainly that the mob intended the punishment to fit the crime. In August, 1901, three negroes, a mother, her daughter and her son, were lynched in Carrollton, Miss., because it was rumored that they had heard of a murder before it was committed, and had not reported it. A negro was accused of murdering a woman, and was lynched in Shreveport, Louisiana, in April, 1902, who was afterward proved innocent. The woman who was lynched in Mississippi this year was not even accused of a crime. The charge of murder had not been proved against her husband, and, as the white man who was murdered had engaged in an altercation with him, it is quite likely that, if the negro had been tried in a court of law, it would have been shown to be a case of justifiable homicide. And so other cases might easily be cited to prove that the charge that innocent negroes are sometimes lynched is by no means without foundation. It is not strange, therefore, that even reputable, law-abiding negroes should protest against the tortures and cruelties inflicted by mobs which wreak vengeance upon the guilty and innocent and upon

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the just and unjust of their race alike. It is to the credit and not to the shame of the negro that he tries to uphold the sacred majesty of the law, which is so often trailed in the dust and trampled under foot by white mobs.

In the fourth place, it is well to remember, in discussing the subject of lynching, that it is not always possible to ascertain the facts from the accounts in the newspapers. The facts are often suppressed, intentionally or unintentionally, or distorted by the press. The case of Sam Hose, to which reference has so often been made, is a good illustration of the unreliability of the press in reporting the lynching of negroes. Sam Hose, a negro, murdered Alfred Cranford, a white man, in a dispute over wages which the white employer refused to pay the colored workman. It was decided to make an example of a negro who dared to kill a white man. A well-known, influential newspaper immediately offered a reward of $500 for the capture of Sam Hose. This same newspaper predicted a lynching, and stated that, though several modes of punishment had been suggested, it was the consensus of opinion that the negro should be burned at the stake and tortured before being burned. A rumor was started, and circulated far and wide by the press, that Sam Hose had assaulted the wife of Alfred Cranford, after the latter had been killed. One of the best detectives in Chicago was sent to Atlanta to investigate the affair. After securing all the information it was possible to obtain from black and white alike, and carefully weighing the evidence, this white detective declared it would have been a physical impossibility for the negro to assault the murdered man's wife, and expressed it as his opinion that the charge of assault was an invention intended to make the burning a certainty.

The Sunday on which Sam Hose was burned was converted into a holiday. Special trains were made up to take the Christian people of Atlanta to the scene of the burning, a short distance from the city. After the first train moved out with every inch of available space inside and out filled to overflowing, a second had to be made up, so as to accommodate those who had just come from church. After Sam Hose had been tortured and burned to death, the great concourse of Christians who had witnessed the tragedy scraped for hours among his ashes in the hope of finding a sufficient number of his bones to take to their friends as souvenirs. The charge has been made that Sam Hose boasted to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

another negro that he intended to assault Alfred Cranford's wife. It would be difficult for anybody who understands conditions in the South to believe that a sane negro would announce his purpose to violate a white woman there, then deliberately enter her husband's house, while all the family were present, to carry out his threat.

Two years ago a riot occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, in which four white policemen were killed and several wounded by a colored man named Richardson, who was himself finally burned to death. Through the press the public was informed that the negro was a desperado. As a matter of fact, Richardson was a merchant, well to do and law-abiding. The head and front of his offending was that he dared to reprimand an ex-policeman for living in open adultery with a colored woman. When it was learned that this negro had been so impudent to a white man, the sheriff led out a posse, consisting of the city police, to arrest Richardson. Seeing the large number of officers surrounding his house, and knowing what would be his fate, if caught, the negro determined to sell his life dear, and he did. With the exception of the Macon "Telegraph," but few white newspapers ever gave the real cause of the riot, and so Richardson has gone down to history as a black desperado, who shot to death four officers of the law and wounded as many more. Several years ago, near New Orleans, a negro was at work in a corn-field. In working through the corn he made considerable noise, which frightened a young white woman, who happened to be passing by. She ran to the nearest house, and reported that a negro had jumped at her. A large crowd of white men immediately shouldered guns and seized the negro, who had no idea what it meant. When told why he was taken, the negro protested that he had not even seen the girl whom he was accused of frightening, but his protest was of no avail and he was hanged to the nearest tree. The press informed the country that this negro was lynched for attempted rape. Instance after instance might be cited to prove that facts bearing upon lynching, as well as upon other phases of the race problem, are often garbled—without intention, perhaps—by the press.

What, then, is the cause of lynching? At the last analysis, it will be discovered that there are just two causes of lynching. In the first place, it is due to race hatred, the hatred of a stronger

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people toward a weaker who were once held as slaves. In the second place, it is due to the lawlessness so prevalent in the section where nine-tenths of the lynchings occur. View the question of lynching from any point of view one may, and it is evident that it is just as impossible for the negroes of this country to prevent mob violence by any attitude of mind which they may assume, or any course of conduct which they may pursue, as it is for a straw dam to stop Niagara's flow. Upon the same spirit of intolerance and of hatred the crime of lynching must be fastened as that which called into being the Ku-Klux Klan, and which has prompted more recent exhibitions of hostility toward the negro, such as the disfranchisement acts, the Jim Crow Car Laws, and the new slavery called "peonage," together with other acts of oppression which make the negro's lot so hard.

Lynching is the aftermath of slavery. The white men who shoot negroes to death and flay them alive, and the white women who apply flaming torches to their oil-soaked bodies to-day, are the sons and daughters of women who had but little, if any, compassion on the race when it was enslaved. The men who lynch negroes to-day are, as a rule, the children of women who sat by their firesides happy and proud in the possession and affection of their own children, while they looked with unpitying eye and adamantine heart upon the anguish of slave mothers whose children had been sold away, when not overtaken by a sadder fate. If it be contended, as it often is, that negroes are rarely lynched by the descendants of former slaveholders, it will be difficult to prove the point. According to the reports of lynchings sent out by the Southern press itself, mobs are generally composed of the "best citizens" of a place, who quietly disperse to their homes as soon as they are certain that the negro is good and dead. The newspaper who predicted that Sam Hose would be lynched, which offered a reward for his capture and which suggested burning at the stake, was neither owned nor edited by the poor whites. But if it be conceded that the descendants of slaveholders do not shoot and burn negroes, lynching must still be regarded as the legitimate offspring of slavery. If the children of the poor whites of the South are the chief aggressors in the lynching-bees of that section, it is because their ancestors were brutalized by their slaveholding environment. In discussing the lynching of negroes at the present time, the heredity and the environ-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment, past and present, of the white mobs are not taken sufficiently into account. It is as impossible to comprehend the cause of the ferocity and barbarity which attend the average lynching-bee without taking into account the brutalizing effect of slavery upon the people of the section where most of the lynchings occur, as it is to investigate the essence and nature of fire without considering the gases which cause the flame to ignite. It is too much to expect, perhaps, that the children of women who for generations looked upon the hardships and the degradation of their sisters of a darker hue with few if any protests, should have mercy and compassion upon the children of that oppressed race now. But what a tremendous influence for law and order, and what a mighty foe to mob violence Southern white women might be, if they would arise in the purity and power of their womanhood to implore their fathers, husbands and sons no longer to stain their hands with the black man's blood!

While the men of the South were off fighting to keep the negro in bondage, their mothers, wives and daughters were entrusted to the black man's care. How faithfully and loyally he kept his sacred trust the records of history attest! Not a white woman was violated throughout the entire war. Can the white women of the South forget how black men bore themselves throughout that trying time? Surely it is not too much to ask that the daughters of mothers who were shielded from harm by the black man's constancy and care should requite their former protectors, by at least asking that, when the children of the latter are accused of crime, they should be treated like human beings and not like wild animals to be butchered and shot.

If there were one particularly heinous crime for which an infuriated people took vengeance upon the negro, or if there were a genuine fear that a guilty negro might escape the penalty of the law in the South, then it might be possible to explain the cause of lynching on some other hypothesis than that of race hatred. It has already been shown that the first supposition has no foundation in fact. It is easy to prove that the second is false. Even those who condone lynching do not pretend to fear the delay or the uncertainty of the law, when a guilty negro is concerned. With the courts of law entirely in the hands of the white man, with judge and jury belonging to the superior race, a guilty negro could no more extricate himself from the meshes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the law in the South than he could slide from the devil-fish's embrace or slip from the anaconda's coils. Miscarriage of justice in the South is possible only when white men transgress the law.

In addition to lynching, the South is continually furnishing proof of its determination to wreak terrible vengeance upon the negro. The recent shocking revelations of the extent to which the actual enslavement of negroes has been carried under the peonage system of Alabama and Mississippi, and the unspeakable cruelties to which men, women and children are alike subjected, all bear witness to this fact. In January of the present year, a government detective found six negro children ranging in age from six to sixteen years working on a Georgia plantation in bare feet, scantily clad in rags, although the ground was covered with snow. The owner of the plantation is one of the wealthiest men in northeast Georgia, and is said to have made his fortune by holding negroes in slavery. When he was tried it was shown that the white planter had killed the father of the six children a few years before, but was acquitted of the murder, as almost invariably happens, when a white man takes a negro's life. After the death of their father, the children were treated with incredible cruelty. They were often chained in a room without fire and were beaten until the blood streamed from their backs, when they were unable to do their stint of work. The planter was placed under $5,000 bail, but it is doubtful whether he will ever pay the penalty of his crime. Like the children just mentioned hundreds of negroes are to-day groaning under a bondage more crushing and more cruel than that abolished forty years ago.

This same spirit manifests itself in a variety of ways. Efforts are constantly making to curtail the educational opportunities of colored children. Already one State has enacted a law by which colored children in the public schools are prohibited from receiving instruction higher than the sixth grade, and other States will, doubtless, soon follow this lead. It is a well-known fact that a Governor recently elected in one of the Southern States owes his popularity and his votes to his open and avowed opposition to the education of negroes. Instance after instance might be cited to prove that the hostility toward the negro in the South is bitter and pronounced, and that lynching is but a manifestation of this spirit of vengeance and intolerance in its ugliest and most brutal form.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the widespread lawlessness among the white people of the South lynching is also due. In commenting upon the blood-guiltiness of South Carolina, the Nashville "American" declared some time ago that, if the killings in the other States had been in the same ratio to population as in South Carolina, a larger number of people would have been murdered in the United States during 1902 than fell on the American side in the Spanish and Philippine wars.

Whenever Southern white people discuss lynching, they are prone to slander the whole negro race. Not long ago, a Southern writer of great repute declared without qualification or reservation that "the crime of rape is well-nigh wholly confined to the negro race," and insisted that "negroes furnish most of the ravishers." These assertions are as unjust to the negro as they are unfounded in fact. According to statistics recently published, only one colored male in 100,000 over five years of age was accused of assault upon a white woman in the South in 1902, whereas one male out of every 20,000 over five years of age was charged with rape in Chicago during the same year. If these figures prove anything at all, they show that the men and boys in Chicago are many times more addicted to rape than are the negroes in the South. Already in the present year two white men have been arrested in the national capital for attempted assault upon little children. One was convicted and sentenced to six years in the penitentiary. The crime of which the other was accused was of the most infamous character. A short account of the trial of the convicted man appeared in the Washington dailies, as any other criminal suit would have been reported; but if a colored man had committed the same crime, the newspapers from one end of the United States to the other would have published it broadcast. Editorials upon the total depravity and the hopeless immorality of the negro would have been written, based upon this particular case as a text. With such facts to prove the falsity of the charge that "the crime of rape is well-nigh wholly confined to the negro race," it is amazing that any writer of repute should affix his signature to such a slander.

But even if the negro's morals were as loose and as lax as some claim them to be, and if his belief in the virtue of women were as slight as we are told, the South has nobody to blame but itself. The only object lesson in virtue and morality which the negro re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceived for 250 years came through the medium of slavery, and that peculiar institution was not calculated to set his standards of correct living very high. Men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles. Throughout their entire period of bondage colored women were debauched by their masters. From the day they were liberated to the present time, prepossessing young colored girls have been considered the rightful prey of white gentlemen in the South, and they have been protected neither by public sentiment nor by law. In the South, the negro's home is not considered sacred by the superior race. White men are neither punished for invading it, nor lynched for violating colored women and girls. In discussing this phase of the race problem last year, one of the most godly and eloquent ministers in the Methodist Episcopal Church (white) expressed himself as follows: "The negro's teachers have been white. It is from the white man the negro has learned to lie and steal. If you wish to know who taught the negro licentiousness, you have only to look into the faces of thousands of mulatto people and get your answer." When one thinks how the negro was degraded in slavery, which discouraged, when it did not positively forbid, marriage between slaves, and considers the bad example set them by white masters, upon whom the negroes looked as scarcely lower than the angels, the freedman's self-control seems almost like a miracle of modern times. In demanding so much of the negro, the South places itself in the anomalous position of insisting that the conduct of the inferior race shall be better, and its standards higher, than those of the people who claim to be superior.

The recent lynching in Springfield, Ohio, and in other cities of the North, show how rapidly this lawlessness is spreading throughout the United States. If the number of Americans who participate in this wild and diabolical carnival of blood does not diminish, nothing can prevent this country from becoming a by-word and a reproach throughout the civilized world. When Secretary Hay appealed to Roumania in behalf of the Jews, there were many sarcastic comments made by the press of that country and of other foreign lands about the inhuman treatment of the negro in the United States. In November, 1903, a manifesto signed by delegates from all over the world was issued at Brussels, Belgium, by the International Socialist Bureau, protesting against the lynching of negroes in the United States.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is a source of deep regret and sorrow to many good Christians in this country that the church puts forth so few and such feeble protests against lynching. As the attitude of many ministers on the question of slavery greatly discouraged the abolitionists before the war, so silence in the pulpit concerning the lynching of negroes to-day plunges many of the persecuted race into deep gloom and dark despair. Thousands of dollars are raised by our churches every year to send missionaries to Christianize the heathen in foreign lands, and this is proper and right. But in addition to this foreign missionary work, would it not be well for our churches to inaugurate a crusade against the barbarism at home, which converts hundreds of white women and children into savages every year, while it crushes the spirit, blights the hearth and breaks the heart of hundreds of defenceless blacks? Not only do ministers fail, as a rule, to protest strongly against the hanging and burning of negroes, but some actually condone the crime without incurring the displeasure of their congregations or invoking the censure of the church. Although the church court which tried the preacher in Wilmington, Delaware, accused of inciting his community to riot and lynching by means of an incendiary sermon, found him guilty of "unministerial and unchristian conduct," of advocating mob murder and of thereby breaking down the public respect for the law, yet it simply admonished him to be "more careful in the future" and inflicted no punishment at all. Such indifference to lynching on the part of the church recalls the experience of Abraham Lincoln, who refused to join church in Springfield, Illinois, because only three out of twenty-two ministers in the whole city stood with him in his effort to free the slave. But, however unfortunate may have been the attitude of some of the churches on the question of slavery before the war, from the moment the shackles fell from the black man's limbs to the present day, the American Church has been most kind and generous in its treatment of the backward and struggling race. Nothing but ignorance or malice could prompt one to disparage the efforts put forth by the churches in the negro's behalf. But, in the face of so much lawlessness to-day, surely there is a rôle for the Church Militant to play. When one reflects upon the large number of negroes who are yearly hurled into eternity, unshriven by priest and untried by law, one cannot help realizing that as a nation we have fallen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon grave times, indeed. Surely, it is time for the ministers in their pulpits and the Christians in their pews to fall upon their knees and pray for deliverance from this rising tide of barbarism which threatens to deluge the whole land.

How can lynching be extirpated in the United States? There are just two ways in which this can be accomplished. In the first place, lynching can never be suppressed in the South, until the masses of ignorant white people in that section are educated and lifted to a higher moral plane. It is difficult for one who has not seen these people to comprehend the density of their ignorance and the depth of their degradation. A well-known white author who lives in the South describes them as follows:

> "Wholly ignorant, absolutely without culture, apparently without even the capacity to appreciate the nicer feelings or higher sense, yet conceited on account of their white skin which they constantly dishonor, they make, when aroused, as wild and brutal a mob as ever disgraced the face of the earth."

In lamenting the mental backwardness of the white people of the South, the Atlanta "Constitution" expressed itself as follows two years ago: "We have as many illiterate white men over the age of twenty-one years in the South to-day as there were fifty-two years ago, when the census of 1850 was taken." Over against these statistics stands the record of the negro, who has reduced his illiteracy 44.5 per cent. in forty years. The hostility which has always existed between the poor whites and the negroes of the South has been greatly intensified in these latter days, by the material and intellectual advancement of the negro. The wrath of a Spanish bull, before whose maddened eyes a red flag is flaunted, is but a feeble attempt at temper compared with the seething, boiling rage of the average white man in the South who beholds a well-educated negro dressed in fine or becoming clothes. In the second place, lynching cannot be suppressed in the South until all classes of white people who dwell there, those of high as well as middle and low degree, respect the rights of other human beings, no matter what may be the color of their skin, become merciful and just enough to cease their persecution of a weaker race and learn a holy reverence for the law.

It is not because the American people are cruel, as a whole, or indifferent on general principles to the suffering of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wronged or oppressed, that outrages against the negro are permitted to occur and go unpunished, but because many are ignorant of the extent to which they are carried, while others despair of eradicating them. The South has so industriously, persistently and eloquently preached the inferiority of the negro, that the North has apparently been converted to this view—the thousands of negroes of sterling qualities, moral worth and lofty patriotism to the contrary notwithstanding. The South has insisted so continuously and belligerently that it is the negro's best friend, that it understands him better than other people on the face of the earth and that it will brook interference from nobody in its method of dealing with him, that the North has been persuaded or intimidated into bowing to this decree.

Then, too, there seems to be a decline of the great convictions in which this government was conceived and into which it was born. Until there is a renaissance of popular belief in the principles of liberty and equality upon which this government was founded, lynching, the Convict Lease System, the Disfranchisement Acts, the Jim Crow Car Laws, unjust discriminations in the professions and trades and similar atrocities will continue to dishearten and degrade the negro, and stain the fair name of the United States. For there can be no doubt that the greatest obstacle in the way of extirpating lynching is the general attitude of the public mind toward this unspeakable crime. The whole country seems tired of hearing about the black man's woes. The wrongs of the Irish, of the Armenians, of the Roumanian and Russian Jews, of the exiles of Russia and of every other oppressed people upon the face of the globe, can arouse the sympathy and fire the indignation of the American public, while they seem to be all but indifferent to the murderous assaults upon the negroes in the South.

MARY CHURCH TERRELL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BRITISH MISSION TO TIBET.

BY SIR WALTER LAWRENCE.

SOME day when the history of the Mission to Tibet is written, there will be presented to the world a tale of unrivalled picturesqueness, pathos and romance. To those who love to read of the toils and difficulties of explorers, of heroic endeavor and inevitable disappointment, Lhasa has always been a familiar and fabulous name, a tantalizing mirage, a Dead Sea fruit. To those, and they are many, who have sympathies with the Buddhist religion, Lhasa has been a very Mecca, and those who most care for Buddhism have been content that the thick veil which has shrouded the mysterious city should remain undrawn. And to those who have lived near the "Roof of the World," the home of the ill-starred Dalai Lamas has ever been a puzzle and a baffling anachronism, a mystic and melancholy evidence of the limitations of Western influence face to face with a truly Oriental situation. For centuries the mystery might have endured and the Dalai Lama and his advisers might have kept the world at bay. In Darjeeling to the south, and in Buddhist Ladak away to the west, the curious have been content to hear of the wonders of Lhasa from the simple, faithful folk fresh back from the terraced city, and have deemed themselves fortunate to be the purchasers of quaint lamps and praying-wheels fashioned by the cunning artisans of sacred Lhasa. When, from time to time, an adventurous traveller essayed to reach the court of the helpless Pontiff of the Buddhists, men smiled and knew that the journey would be in vain, and that, were he the very prince of explorers, he would be gently but effectively warned off the dreary regions that encompass the Vatican of Buddhism. Lhasa would have remained the North Pole of Oriental voyage and lingered on as an unknown quantity to an all-knowing, inquisitive world, had it not been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the lamentable and unnecessary activities of the Buriat agent, Dorjieff, and the unneighborly trespass of our good friends the Russians. In this dreary iron age of facts and statistics, we can ill spare the romantic mystery that has hung around Lhasa; and, however much the utilitarians may rejoice over discovery and the revelation of realities, the world at large will be the poorer, and the Buddhist millions and the millions of dreamers East and West, who want their dreams, will live to curse Dorjieff, the deceiver, and Russia, the provoker of strife.

It is not the purpose of this article to give a detailed history of the events which have led to the regrettable, though inevitable, losses which were inflicted by British troops on the Tibetans at the end of March. Details full and free have been given by the press, but it is well to recall some of the most important facts which emerge from this nightmare of enterprise and achievement.

First, we must notice the forbearance shown by the Government of India. For eight long months, that quiet, pacific political officer, Colonel Younghusband, has been perched on the cold mountains vainly endeavoring to convince the fatuous monks of Lhasa that he was there on serious business. For months, the troops of General Macdonald's small force have been suffering hardships which have taxed to the utmost the cheery Gurkhas and the steadfast Sikhs; and, over those who know the passes in the late spring and autumn, an involuntary shiver will pass when they think of what it means to be out on the country between the Jelap-la and the Tung-la in the winter months. Move your hand or foot from under the blankets, as you lie trying to sleep at night, and you will probably find it frozen. When the sun rises and the bitter wind draws up the valley, the icy dust blows into your lungs, your breath freezes and you must beware of frost-bite, breathlessness, and the various symptoms of mountain-sickness. Then a hurricane arises, and the air is charged with stones and ice. Long months of misery were nobly borne by officers and men in this frigid hell of filth and unheard-of discomforts. At the same time, it was only a mission, and there might be no fighting, save the awful and unequal fight against nature; and to the Gurkhas, Sikhs and the British soldiers of the Mountain Battery and the Machine Gun section this was a business which passed their understanding. But to the authorities in India, the difficulties were well known; and, if the expedition could have started,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as was intended, in May, even then the enterprise would have been the most arduous ever attempted by the always ready army of India. Whatever may come of the great exploit, one thing has been achieved. An object-lesson in brave endurance and determined force has been given, and in spite of loss and suffering such lessons act as a tonic on the great continent of India, and as a prophylactic on our restless neighbors beyond the frontier.

Admirable patience has been displayed throughout. There has not been wanting the jeering criticism and the sneer at the "*impasse*" created by the ignorance of Lhasa and the almost insuperable difficulties of the mountains. Calamity followed calamity. Lightning destroyed the stores at Rora-thang—stores which had been painfully dragged up the cruel track. The useful yaks which had been collected in thousands for us by the friendly Nepalese Government utterly failed as a transport animal, and we have gone back to our old friend the mule. The story of the yaks, and of the devotion of the officers who were charged with the duty of bringing them from Nepal across Sikkim to the Chumbi Valley, commands our wonder and admiration. It was a march of months through the most awful country, and the march was dogged by anthrax, foot-and-mouth disease and pleuro-pneumonia. Over 2,500 yaks perished. As marking the long-suffering, though perhaps futile, consideration of the Indian Government, one may note that the original idea of taking the yaks into Khamba-Jong across a corner of Tibet was abandoned, as the Tibetans threatened to shoot both yaks and their drivers, and to avoid a conflict the circuitous and, as it turned out, the fatal route through Sikkim was adopted. Every day brought some fresh news of suffering bravely and cheerfully endured, and every day India wondered whether the Viceroy would throw up the game in sheer despair, baffled by the rocky barriers and the passive resistance of Tibet, and the elusive tactics of China and her impossible Ambans. But those who knew the facts regarding the British Government in India, and still more those who knew the character and policy of the great statesman who is at present responsible for India's welfare and safety, knew that there would be no drawing back. The track might be overwhelmed in a landslip, or lightning, frost and snow might do their worst; but there could be no drawing back, for all India was watching, and, far away in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan and Siam, men were waiting

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for news. All this was, no doubt, considered when the Government reluctantly came to the conclusion that the Tibetan farce was passing into serious drama. They had reckoned the cost and the difficulties, and had decided that the interests at stake in Tibet demanded drastic measures. They knew, as every Indian Government knew, that however small, or however large, the undertaking might be, it must be successful, or trouble would follow. For, in the East, the only thing which is understood and appreciated is force, and successful force. The Indians knew that we were not scaling the mountain walls of Tibet for the sake of annexing that dreary and sterile country, and that we were not risking the lives of our troops merely as an act of reprisal for the insults and flouts of a dreamy and ignorant community of monks. It is true that the contumacy, and wanton neglect of treaty obligations, which we have experienced at the hands of the evasive and intangible Government of Lhasa for the last fifteen years, have not conduced to enhance our prestige on the north-east frontiers of India. It was possible that the contemptuous treatment of the Viceroy's letters returned from Lhasa unopened might, if unnoticed, have been followed by further insult, and in the East the spirit of contumacy is catching. British relations with Nepal are of the most satisfactory nature, and it is of first importance that they should continue so. For Nepal, strategically, is the very keystone of the Indian frontier, and is one of our most important recruiting-grounds, for it is from Nepal that we obtain our brave little Gurkhas, who with the Sikhs form the backbone of our Indian army. And it is not improbable that, if we had gone on meekly acquiescing in the ridiculous attitude of Tibet, Nepal might have had doubts as to our real power, and the thought might have arisen that the policy adopted by Tibet might equally well be followed in Nepal. Ideas spread with fatal rapidity in India, and all roads lead to Lhasa. A few years more of forbearance, and Bhutan and Burma might be taking a leaf out of the book of the Dalai Lama. It was high time to enforce the treaty which followed our successful operations when we drove the Tibetan raiders out of our tributary state of Sikkim. For the first treaty was a dead letter and the restrictions on trade remained unabated. A similar fate has attended the later regulations, which were framed by Great Britain and China, for enforcing the terms of the treaty. Various acts of practical hos-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tility have been committed by the nebulous Government of Lhasa; but, in spite of all, there was a certain tenderness for this Old World antediluvian Tibet, and we probably should not have taken Tibet and its ways seriously, had we not discovered that, for all its seeming ignorance of the outside world, Lhasa was entering into relations with Russia.

It cannot be impressed too strongly upon those who care to understand the problems of India, that the one thing which all Viceroys desire is to be allowed to develop India and her resources, to extend railways and irrigation, to reduce taxation, and to improve the various branches of an administration which affects the lives and happiness of one-fifth of the entire human race. All Viceroys have prayed for peace on the frontiers of India, and freedom from famine and cataclysms within her borders; and none of them has prayed for peace more fervently, or wrought more earnestly to ensue peace, than Lord Curzon. From the first day he assumed office, more than five years ago, he has taken up, with his characteristic energy and fortitude, burning questions of reform which have for years awaited and called for the man of action. Education, on which so much of India's future depends; police, which affects the inner lives of the people so disastrously unless it be efficient and honest; railways, such potent factors in progress and prosperity; and irrigation, which fills the granaries when drought is working havoc and famine in waterless tracts, have all formed the subject of the Viceroy's most careful thought, and in all he has effected material and far-reaching improvements. Firmly and of set purpose he has devoted himself to the less conspicuous enterprises of peace, and has avoided the more flowery field of territorial expansion. When he took office in 1899, there were 10,000 British troops stationed across the administrative border of British India. Now there are only 5,000, and in the five years during which Lord Curzon has run his strenuous and constructive course, the long length of the Indian frontier has been held with a loss of only 109 men.

It is, therefore, with no light heart, or easy change, that Lord Curzon has turned aside from his efforts for internal reform to a hazardous enterprise such as the expedition to Tibet. He knew of the hardships which would be entailed on the army; he knew of the ignorance and folly which prevailed in the councils of Lhasa; he had appraised the impotence and unreality of the suzerainty

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

claimed but not exercised by China; and above all he shrank from the dread possibility of the guns and rifles being used—those guns and rifles which had to be nursed against the frost in the beds and clothing of the officers and men. It was an evil, as all war and all such expeditions must be, but it was the lesser of two evils, and as a faithful sentinel of the Empire he had to accept it. In his own words—uttered the day before the unfortunate Tibetans learnt that our troops were not mere "eidolons" and that our guns were not for mere display—he said:

"I have no desire to push on anywhere. The history of the last five years has been one of consolidation and restraint, but I would suffer any imputations rather than be an unfaithful sentinel, and allow the future peace of the country to be compromised by encroachments from outside which would only have one meaning. . . . We live in days when there is a strong main current in the direction of leaving the castle unguarded and when international rivals are closing in around us with intentions that he who runs may read."

Lord Curzon likened India to a fortress, "with the sea as a moat on two sides, and mountains on the third. Beyond the walls is a glacis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it, but we cannot afford to see it occupied by a foe. We are quite content that it should remain in the hands of allies and friends; but if unfriendly influences creep up and lodge under our walls we are compelled to intervene because danger would thereby grow up, and menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and Siam."

The spectacle of our army marching in winter through a country higher than the Alps, is due to the fact that Russia was on the glacis, and that Tibet, ignoring geographical facts, and abandoning the safe policy of absolute isolation from the world, had sent deputations to the Tsar, and was becoming enmeshed in the wide-cast nets of the Neva.

Russia has her Asiatic policy, vast, consistent, and, as far as it is possible to foresee, perpetual. Whatever may be the actual forces which have dictated the policy, whether they be religious, commercial, or racial, the policy is a menace to the safety of India; and those who are charged with the watch and ward of the Empire do well to be prepared with a counter policy of defence.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

India is, at present, a poor, but improving, country, with great resources which merely await development. The last few years have been years of considerable progress, and Lord Curzon will not be contradicted by those who have watched recent events when he claims that India is "better equipped to face the many problems which confront her, stronger and better guarded on the frontiers, with her agriculture, industries, commerce, education, irrigation, railways, army and police brought up to a higher state of efficiency, with every part of her administrative machinery in better repair, with her credit re-established, her currency restored, and with the material prosperity of her people enhanced and their loyalty strengthened." But over this bright and hopeful light which is dawning on the great Dependency, there falls the shadow of Russian aggression, and it is grievous that the money so greatly wanted in India must be spent on the counter policy.

It is well that those who inhabit the fortress, and that those who live on the glacis over the Indian frontiers, should know that their misfortunes, whether they take the form of taxation, or of military occupation, are due, not to the "forward policy" of India's rulers, but to the aggressive policy of India's greatest enemy. There is no such thing now as a "forward policy" in India. The old idea of a Lawrence policy, and of a forward policy, as the only two alternatives, is out of date. New factors have come into play, and the Indian policy of to-day may be defined as one of preventive defence. The old controversy between the Lawrence school and the disciples of the forward policy raged around our relations with Afghanistan, but India has now by a strange destiny been brought into contact with other and more complex problems. To use Lord Curzon's words:

> "Europe has woke up, and is beginning to take a revived interest in Asia. Russia, with her vast territories, her great ambitions, and her unarrested advance, has been the pioneer in this movement, and with her, or after her, have come her competitors, rivals, and allies. Thus, as all these foreigners arrive upon the scene and push forward into the vacant spots, we are slowly having a European situation recreated in Asia, with the same figures upon the stage. The great European Powers are also becoming the great Asiatic Powers."

The European situation is watched jealously and closely by the great Continental states, whose interests are so vitally concerned.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Happily, too, for mankind and civilization, the great American nation is watching the situation, and will play an important part in the Asiatic game. Is it too much to hope that the same vigilance, and the same desire for the maintenance of peace and of the *status quo,* may erelong be extended to the Asiatic replica of the European situation? Is it too much to hope that the same honest and generous presentment of India's case, as was given in the "*Débats*" of April 1st, may before long inspire and inform Continental opinion? I quote it as given in the "Times" of April 2nd, for it sums up in a few pregnant sentences all that need be said on the Tibetan question:

"It would be difficult not to understand England's decision. For Russia, the dominant Power in Turkestan, Tibet, is, after all, a distant country, whereas for India it is a near neighbor. As Prince Henry of Orleans was wont to say, '*Il n'y a qu'un pas de l'Inde au Thibet.*' It is true that the step is one over the Himalayas; but how can even this formidable chain be compared with the immense ice plateau where the traveller, oppressed constantly by an altitude of more than 5,000 metres, drags along for more than two months in the mud and snow without seeing a single human being, or a single tree, between the plain of Eastern Turkestan and the first encampments of the Tibetan shepherds, 150 or 200 kilometres to the north of Lhasa? It is this plateau, far more than the Himalayas, which constitutes in the north India's scientific frontier, and one can understand that England does not mean to allow this frontier to be turned."

Enough has been said, perhaps, of Russia's Asiatic policy; and the reader will have grasped the fact that the march of General Macdonald's small force into the clouds is merely a concrete demonstration of the British counter policy, and that, just as Russia has a policy comprehensive and interdependent, so too Great Britain has a counter policy in the East, in which each part is essential and vital to the maintenance of her Empire in India. The counter policy was enunciated by Lord Lansdowne last year, when he warned the world that there must be no intrusion on the glacis of Persia. It was high time that the notice boards should be put up, and if the constructive and consistent policy now inaugurated could have been announced earlier, it is possible that there would have been no mission to Tibet. We think that our policy will wear as well as Russia's Asiatic ideal. It is the outcome of necessity, and has been formulated by two statesmen who possess at once a profound knowledge of British

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foreign policy, and a first-hand experience of India's requirements.

Possession in international affairs, as in law, counts for something, and our case, as the defenders and trustees of India, is a just and righteous case. Speaking more locally, and with some slight experience of India and Indian thought, I maintain that Lord Lansdowne's pronouncement has not come a day too soon, and that the visible and practical illustration of his policy will have an enormous effect throughout the length and breadth of India. Nepal signals to Benares, and Benares to Madras, and there is a "feeling of solidarity and common interest" among the peoples of India, which is perhaps insufficiently realized when great deeds are afoot. Lord Curzon does well to encourage the feeling of common interest, and the time is fast coming when the common interest of India's three hundred millions will resolve itself into the problem of devising the cheapest form of insurance against foreign aggression. Unhappily, at present most Indian publicists and thinkers spell "defence" as "defiance," and in the natural and modest efforts to guard India's safety see the old bugbear of the forward policy.

It is extremely difficult to say what will now happen in Tibet. So many ideas have been suggested, and so many anticipations have been formed which have proved wrong, that one hesitates to predict anything regarding the course of events in that queer country of magic and divination. There is a precedent which, curiously enough, has not been noticed, and the precedent may enable us to guess something of what may befall. About 1840, a Dogra General, Zorawar Singh, invaded Ladak, then the most westerly province of the high mountainous country which is spoken of as Tibet. Zorawar Singh and his small force passed through a country of mountains and glaciers, not less difficult than that which has been traversed by our troops, but he was not hampered by transport and modern requirements. In two years he conquered Ladak, which has ever since remained the peaceful appanage of Kashmir. It is worthy of notice that the leading monastery — the Lhasa of Western Tibet — Hemis, not only did not turn out to fight, but made terms with the invader, and, as far as I know, the monks of Ladak were never in the fighting line. Now, it is generally assumed that the real opposition to our arms will come from the monks of Lhasa, and we hear

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of rifles which have been manufactured locally, and of a National Council at Lhasa which decided on war, collected men and distributed arms. We hear that the monks are a truculent, insolent and intensely hostile people, whereas the Generals are moderate, though it is reported that one bloodthirsty General went so far as to say that, though he did not "like meat as a rule, he would not at all mind eating the flesh of the British officers of the mission." They are quaint people in the East, and perhaps the Tibetans are the quaintest of all, and we must be prepared for surprises and extraordinary developments. It is useless to judge them by our standards, or to imagine that they will be influenced by motives which appeal to us. It is, however, safe to say that the delay in our movements due to the winter weather has already affected our prestige, and that our patience has often been mistaken at Lhasa for weakness. The season is now in our favor, the ladder-like mountains have been scaled, and all is now plain sailing to Lhasa. It has been suggested that the lamas of Lhasa, and the people of the country, do not always see eye to eye, and if we were dealing with people of an ordinary nature, we might suppose that the wounded and the friends of the slain at Guru, would comment on the fact that, while the monks made the mischief, it was the laymen who bore the punishment. But such a supposition would ignore the traditional love and the family connection which every Tibetan has with the monasteries, and it is possible that if Lhasa were threatened the whole countryside would rally to the Dalai Lama in spite of the abuses and the arrogance of his court. One has heard much about the aspirations of Lhasa and the growing desire to throw off the somewhat impalpable yoke of China, and the idea is held that the unprecedented phenomenon of a Dalai Lama spared to live till manhood is due to this deep policy. But China and her malingering Ambans, and Szechuan and her greedy officials, only obscure the simple issues of the Tibetan mission, and may very properly be cut out of the drama which we are now watching. We shall know more about such matters when we have arrived at Gyangtse.

This place, a large town lying in a valley where cultivation should furnish us with supplies, is for the present the ultimate point of the mission. There is to be no occupation or permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs, and when we have obtained satisfaction and reparation the force is to retire. Satisfaction is a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comprehensive term, and it is to be hoped that it will be forthcoming when our troops take up their abode for the summer in Gyangtse. But even if the recent affair at the hot springs of Guru does bring the Dalai Lama and his advisers to their senses —and it should be remembered that Dorjieff is still in high favor at Lhasa—some sanction and guarantee of good behavior will be required in the future. It is easy to see that a Resident at Lhasa, or even at Gyangtse might for some time give rise to embarrassment and expense; but it is difficult to suggest any form of satisfaction or reparation which would be adequate and enduring, unless we leave some representative behind us. Our experience of the Tibetan attitude to treaties would scarcely justify any but the most perennial and binding terms. It is also most natural that the British Government should hesitate to allow the business to proceed to its logical end. Pity for its misguided people, and a chivalrous regard for the sanctity of the City of the Buddhists, who form a not inconsiderable section of the population of our Empire, might well make the authorities in London pause. But, for all that, Lhasa is the logical end of the Tibetan mission. Much, however, may happen at Gyangtse in the next few months. We shall be able to become acquainted with the people, to give them good work and good wages. Kindly treatment and the many little ways in which our officers in the East win their way to the hearts of the country folk, will have their effect even in Tibet. And there is another influence which may bring some solution of our difficulties. Shigatse is not far from Gyangtse, and near Shigatse resides a very important personage—the Grand Lama of Tashe-Lhunpo, the "glorious teacher." Some hold that he has an influence equal to, if not greater than, that exercised by the Dalai Lama; but, whether that be so or not, his influence, if he throws in his lot with our mission, would very quickly reduce the power and resources of Lhasa to insignificance. So far, it appears that the Grand Lama of the South has shown himself to be friendly, and the old device, "*divide et impera,*" may have to be invoked. It would be a mistake, however, to press this policy unduly. Though it may transpire that the Grand Lama of Tashe-Lhunpo has local claims to recognition, it must be remembered that Lhasa is of more than local interest, and that the Dalai Lama has up to the present been the paramount figure of the Buddhist world. And it may be safely assumed that the same forbearance

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which has characterized our attitude towards Tibet for many years will continue to be exercised, and that every effort will be made to obtain satisfaction without destroying the anomalous, but still ancient, constitution of Lhasa. This is the real difficulty of the problem. A Buddhist kingdom is an anachronism in this age of statecraft and scientific warfare, for in a purely Buddhist country there can be no statesman and no soldier. It would not be difficult to bring about a revolution against the priests, or to induce the Grand Lama south of the Brahmaputra to set himself up as a power independent of Lhasa. Still less would it be difficult to march our troops to Lhasa, and bring the crazy city toppling to the ground. The real difficulty is to negotiate with a people of another world, strangers to common sense, comity and even to self-interest, and to convince them of our power without actually using that power. It would be a calamity if we are forced to storm Lhasa, and it would be in many ways a source of regret if we destroyed the central influence of the Buddhist world; but it is obvious that the Dalai Lama and his advisers must be brought to see the seriousness of the situation. So far our efforts in this direction have been in vain. But time works many changes, and the Dalai Lama may grow weary of his Master of Ordnance and Treasurer, Dorjieff, and may realize that there was some truth in the advice of Nepal, that "to bring about unnecessary complications with the British Government is like producing headache by twisting a rope round one's head when it is not aching."

The advance of our troops to Gyangtse will give another twist to the rope. The situation will develop slowly, and it is quite possible that the programme laid down by the British Government will require modification. By that programme there is to be no permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs in any form, and no permanent mission. Permanent intervention would no doubt make Lhasa an impossibility, and reduce Tibet to the status of Ladak. Many will contend that this would be no matter for regret, but the object of our mission is not to reform the Lamaic constitution, but to secure a working convention with our neighbor, to settle the northern border of Sikkim, to obtain reparation for the arrest and, it is feared, the murder of British subjects, and to receive some explanation of the insolent treatment accorded to our mission at Khamba-jong.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We hope that these objects may be secured by the tact and patience of our officers, but we think that, while there is to be no permanent intervention, there must be some permanent security. We do not anticipate that the appointment of a British envoy at Lhasa would lead to danger, though it would undoubtedly be a source of anxiety and expense. As an experiment, we might adopt a system somewhat similar to that obtaining in Afghanistan. We might send one of our Buddhist officials to Lhasa to act as our representative and intelligence officer, and we might fairly ask the Dalai Lama to depute some responsible and substantial Tibetan to reside as envoy in India. We might, no doubt, annex territory by way of reparation, but we have disclaimed the idea of annexation, and all we want is security for the future, and some guarantee against a recurrence of the heavy expense which we have incurred on the present expedition. In the old days we should have taken hostages. This, or the retention of valuable property by way of a pledge, would be in keeping with Tibetan ideas. But we have no doubt that Lord Curzon and his resourceful officers will find some practicable and acceptable method for preventing future troubles, for safeguarding the "glacis," and for protecting our frontier and our subjects.

WALTER LAWRENCE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A LESSON FROM ENGLISH LABOR.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

THE relations between capital and labor in England are not unlike those between capital and labor in the United States. Speaking generally, and despite the theories of *doctrinaires,* both sides recognize that their interests instead of being identical are founded on antagonistic principles; but despite this antagonism there is common ground on which they can meet, because common interests demand it. The employer in England, as the employer everywhere, is a purchaser and is chiefly concerned in buying as cheaply as possible. To the employer labor is simply raw material to be converted into a finished product and to be bought by him as he buys his other raw material at the lowest market rate. The workman, on the other hand, is a seller, and his chief object is to find the highest market for his product.

These two irreconcilable purposes have led in England to constant conflict between employer and employee. The trade-union has been one of the chief causes which have led to the increase of wages, the decrease of hours, and the better condition generally of the wage-worker. This, indeed, is no longer controverted by the employer or even by the opponent of the trade-union. It is not asserted that to the trade-union solely is to be credited this general improvement in the status of the laboring class, but it is affirmed and sustained by incontrovertible evidence that the trade-union has been one of the great instruments in bringing about this improvement. The trade-union in England has taught a lesson both to employers and employees which might be well heeded by capital and labor in the United States; and if some of the methods now in force in the United Kingdom were adopted in the United States, a *modus vivendi* would be established between capital and labor to the advantage of both.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The English labor-union owes its existence to the desire of wage-workers to provide for themselves a means whereby men working for small daily wages—wages often barely sufficient to enable them to live, which in the very nature of things made it impossible for them to lay up anything when sickness or misfortune overtook them—might obtain relief and assistance from the combined savings and contributions of the body of workers. Its genesis was, in fact, that of the charitable and benevolent society which has existed in all ages and in all countries. But it soon lost its original character and became a militant society whose chief purpose was to better the condition of its members without regard to the rights of employers, or without consideration as to whether it was possible for the employer to accede to the demands made upon him for higher wages or shorter hours. In that stage of its development the trade-union was a militant society, and the militant trade leader was the man who came to the fore. It was a period of continual agitation and continued unrest. Many of the leaders were honest; many were dishonest; but whether animated by worthy or unworthy motives, they believed that the only way by which the condition of the workingman could be improved was to embitter the relations between him and his employer, and to maintain what international lawyers recognize as a state of "limited warfare." In England that era has been relegated to the past. The trade-union leader militant has been succeeded by a leader who is as courageous as his predecessor, but who is more intelligent, and who has devoted no little time and thought to the study of great industrial questions, who has at least some knowledge of the laws of political economy, and who realizes that if the wage-worker is to improve his condition, it is essential that he shall maintain friendly relations with his employers, that strikes shall be as few and infrequent as possible, and that he shall do nothing foolishly to hamper the conduct of business or to increase the cost of production.

The curse of the American trade-union—the walking delegate and the business agent, the glib demagogue or the shrewd knave—is practically unknown in England at the present time in the ranks of the larger, the best organized and the most influential unions. Those unions are usually managed by executive committees elected by the membership at large; the executive committee, sometimes called the council, being vested with the gen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eral management, whose executive officer is the general secretary, an official who devotes substantially all of his time to the union, who must have been a practical journeyman engaged in his trade, and who receives rather more than the highest wages paid in the trade, and not infrequently free rent, fuel and gas. As a rule, these general secretaries are men of great intelligence, several of them are members of Parliament, who possess the confidence of their fellow unionists and the respect of their former employers, and whose voices are more often raised on the side of peace than of war. The general secretary is a person of such importance in trade-union government that much of the advance which the English trade-union has made is due to these men coming to the front, and to the wise, cautious and progressive spirit they have displayed. Although the affairs of the union are controlled by the central body, each subordinate branch or local union is autonomous and manages its own affairs. Up to a certain point a local union may order a strike and pay strike benefits from its meagre local funds, but it cannot receive strike benefits from the union treasury unless the strike has received the approval of the central or executive body. In fact, the English system of trade-union government finds its parallel in the American system of government. The subordinate unions are to the union as a whole what the separate States are to the American Union. Subject to the limitations of the constitution, they are sovereign within their own borders and can manage their domestic affairs as they please; but in any question affecting the union as an entity their power is merged in the greater authority of the central body; and precisely as no State can make war and Congress alone can raise the money for carrying on war, so no subordinate union may declare industrial war without the consent of the federated body of workers. In many respects the system does not materially differ from that to be found among labor organizations in the United States, but the great difference and the great advance which the English union has made over the American is the adoption of methods by the larger unions to prevent industrial warfare and to prevent strikes and other labor disturbances. The appeal to force—the strike on the one hand and the lockout on the other—is not a lost art in England, and is still employed when other means fail; but both sides have come to the realization of the folly of fighting when it is so much easier and far less costly to keep the peace;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

instead of a victory compelled at the point of the sword, instead of violence, coercion and passion, they have substituted the more scientific methods of reason, argument and the weight of evidence. It is a specially significant fact, agreed in by laboring-men, employers of labor, government officials having to deal with labor data, and independent writers and investigators, that year by year there is noted a progressive decrease of disputes in those trades where the highest skill and intelligence are required, wages are correspondingly high, and the workers are most scientifically organized; and it is in those trades where brute force rather than intelligence is needed, and the men are either loosely organized or not organized at all, that disputes constantly occur and strikes are most frequent.

One of the largest and most influential trade-unions in England is the Durham Miners' Association, having a membership of 90,000 men working in the Durham coal-fields. The Durham miners have created a Conciliation Board consisting of 36 members, of whom 18 are colliery owners or their representatives, 9 are miners, 3 are enginemen, 3 are mechanics, and 3 coke-workers. The object of the Board, as stated in the preamble of the agreement, is "by conciliatory means to prevent disputes, and to put an end to any that may arise, and with this view to consider and decide upon all claims that either party may from time to time make for a change in county rates of wages or county practices, and upon any other questions, not falling within the jurisdiction of the Joint Committee, that it may be agreed between the parties to refer to the Board."

The Board meets on an average every quarter to consider the matters brought before it, and on ordinary occasions is presided over by the chairman or vice-chairman, one of whom is a representative of the owners or the men; but provision is made for an umpire whose services are only requisitioned when the Board is deadlocked. The agreement stipulates that "all questions shall in the first instance be submitted to and considered by the Board without the presence of the Umpire, it being the desire and intention of the parties to settle, by friendly conference if possible, any difficulties or differences which may arise. If the Board cannot agree, then the meeting shall be adjourned, and the Umpire shall be summoned to the adjourned meeting, when the matter shall be again discussed, and in default of an agreement by the Board

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Umpire shall give his casting vote on such matter. The decision of the Board or its Umpire shall be final and binding on the parties."

The Umpire, who has held the position since 1899, when the Board was created, and serves without remuneration but as a matter of patriotic duty, is Lord Davey, one of the lord-justices of appeal, whose position corresponds in dignity and importance with a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. When the Board finds that it is unable to reach an agreement, Lord Davey is called in, and he sits on the Board precisely as he sits as a lord-justice of appeal reviewing a case brought before him from an inferior court.

Regarding Lord Davey in the light of a judge of appeal, the Conciliation Board is an inferior court of original jurisdiction. The method of procedure in any disagreement arising between masters and men is to submit the dispute in the first instance to the Board. Here it is argued and discussed in the usual way, the affirmative side naturally becoming the "plaintiff." If it should not be possible at the first hearing for an agreement to be reached, either side may ask that it be further considered, either by a committee or by the Board as a whole, at a future hearing. This precludes hasty action and affords an opportunity for excitement to abate. It has happened that a matter in dispute has been taken up at a meeting of the Board, discussed and postponed, and carried on in that way for a full year; in the mean time the *status quo* being maintained, the appeal to the Board acting as an interlocutory restraining order. But when it becomes patent to both sides that no agreement can be reached, the appeal is then taken to Lord Davey. The two sides appear before him through their representatives in the position of appellant and respondent, precisely as they would in any other case tried in a court of justice. But Lord Davey is something more than a judge; he is also a judge-advocate—the adviser and the friend of the parties in interest; and he endeavors not only to have all the facts brought out, but to get at the equities involved, so that his decision may be based not solely on legal grounds, but also that ethical and other considerations may be given due weight. His decision is final, and while of course Lord Davey has no power to enforce it, and the disregard of his injunction would not submit the offending party to imprisonment for contempt of court or make

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him liable to any other form of punishment, both sides loyally accept the verdict and carry out its provisions. And so far neither side has manifested the slightest disposition not to accept the verdict. In 1895 Lord Davey's services were twice called upon, the employers demanding a reduction of wages which the men opposed. The contention of the employers was that, based on the then prevailing market price of coal, they were unable to continue the wage-scale in force and were entitled to a reduction of seven and one-half per cent. on what is known as the "standard." The men urged that the state of the market did not warrant a reduction; but after hearing all the evidence and receiving the confidential reports of accountants appointed as the representatives of the contestants, Lord Davey decided that the owners were entitled to a reduction of five per cent., and this reduction the men accepted. Some four months later the owners again proposed a further reduction in wages, which the men refused to accept, and an appeal was once more taken to Lord Davey. After careful consideration of all the facts he decided that conditions justified a decrease of wages, which accordingly became effective. During the past year a long-pending controversy was settled by Lord Davey without interruption of work or without a trial of strength. The men claimed the right to take the August bank-holiday, the first Monday in August, which the owners objected to because of the loss caused by a cessation of work. Lord Davey decided in favor of the men, and of course the masters accepted the decision.

It must be evident from the foregoing that the Durham coal-miners have taken a long step forward in the direction of securing peace between themselves and their employers; and so much satisfaction has this arrangement given that other important trades have adopted substantially similar methods of preventing disastrous labor disputes. Mr. John Wilson, M.P., the secretary of the miners' association, told the writer last summer that a sum not to exceed $25 was the total amount paid in strike benefits during the year, and the disputes were of such a trivial character as hardly to be worthy of notice.

The men employed in the coal-pits of South Wales and Monmouthshire are organized under the name of the South Wales Miners' Federation, who have created a Conciliation Board of forty-eight members, representing equally the owners and the workers, "and, when dealing with questions relating to general

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

advances or general reductions in the rate of wages, also of a chairman from outside who shall not be financially interested in any coal-mine in the United Kingdom, and who shall have a casting vote only." The chairman of the South Wales Board may not deviate from the precise proposition presented to him for decision; Lord Davey may affirm, reject or compromise.

The agreement between the South Wales colliery-owners and their men recites that "the parties to this Agreement pledge their respective constituents to make every effort possible to avoid difficulties or disputes at the Collieries and in case of any unavoidable difference the Owners or their Agent or Agents shall endeavor to settle all matters at the Collieries, and only in case of failing to effect a settlement shall a written appeal be made to the Board by either or both of the parties concerned in the dispute to consider the same, and no notice to terminate contracts shall be given by either Owners or their Workmen before the particular question in dispute shall have been considered by the Board and it shall have failed to arrive at an agreement. The Board shall have power to refer such questions to a Committee consisting of one or more Owners' Representatives and an equal number of Workmen's Representatives, all of whom shall be Members of the Board, to consider, and, if so directed with power, to settle, and in all cases to report either a settlement or a failure to agree to the Board, within three calendar months from the date of the reference to such Committee, and should the Board then fail to arrive at an Agreement within one month, or any extended period that may be agreed upon by the Board, either party may give notice to terminate Contracts."

Should either party to the agreement desire to vary the existing rate of wages, notice of the proposed change must be given in writing to the secretaries ten days before the date of the meeting, with the grounds for the proposed change.

"At all such meetings," the rules state, "the questions to be dealt with thereat shall in the first instance be considered by the Board, it being the desire and intention of the parties to settle any differences which may arise by friendly conference if possible. If the parties on the Board cannot agree, then the meeting shall be adjourned for a period not exceeding seven days, to which adjourned meeting the chairman shall be summoned and shall attend and preside thereat, when the questions in difference shall

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be again discussed by the parties, and in the event of their failing to arrive at an agreement with regard thereto, the chairman either at such meeting or within seven days thereafter shall give his casting vote on such questions, and the parties shall be bound thereby."

Viscount Peel, formerly the Speaker of the House of Commons, is the chairman of the Board, and Mr. William Brace, vice-president of the Federation, informed the writer that the success of the scheme has been fully demonstrated. The Board came into existence on the 31st of March, 1903. Prior to that time there had been frequent disagreements between the colliery-owners and their men, and before the last sliding scale was signed there had been a seventeen weeks' strike; but since 1903 there has been no stoppage of work and no disagreement of any serious nature.

In those trades where provision is not made for the appointment of an independent chairman or umpire, results almost as satisfactory have been reached by the employers forming associations; and those associations, through a committee, meet a corresponding committee of the union men and discuss matters affecting their common interests. This is the practice among the engineers, their union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, being one of the largest trade-unions in the United Kingdom, and in some respects the most important and influential. The affairs of the union are managed by an executive committee with the general secretary as its executive officer. Throughout the Kingdom are branches, each branch electing its own officers and managing its local affairs within the limitations of the constitution. These branches are grouped into districts represented by the district committee, which has power, subject to the approval of the central executive committee, to regulate the rate of wages and hours of labor and such other general conditions affecting the trade in their respective districts; wages in England in a trade are seldom uniform, but are based on the cost of living in the locality and other circumstances.

In the event of a dispute between the members of a subordinate lodge and an employer, the question is discussed between the district committee and the local association of employers, usually through a small sub-committee, and if no agreement can be reached the matter is referred to the executive council of the society and the executive committee of the employers' federation.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These two executive bodies meet, as a rule, every three months and take up all the accumulated business, and generally they have been able to reach a satisfactory agreement since 1900, when this arrangement went into effect. The constitution and rules of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers give the district committee, in case of a dispute, after it has obtained the consent of the executive council, power to take a vote of the members of the district upon the advisability of assisting the strike committee in the district by a local levy, but that levy must not exceed sixpence (say 12 cents) weekly during the continuance of the dispute; and in case of a dispute the members are not permitted to leave their employment without having first obtained the sanction of the district committee. The best organized unions disapprove of the sympathetic strike and discourage it in every way possible. Thus, the rules of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers provide that in case of a dispute involving a strike, those members of the society who can with advantage be excluded from the operations of the strike are not to be permitted to leave their work, and no general strike may be ordered in any district affecting the whole of the members unless carried by a vote of two-thirds of the full voting membership of that district. Furthermore, to make the members realize that a strike is a serious matter not to be lightly engaged in, after the strike contribution of sixpence a week already referred to has been made, it cannot be continued for a period to exceed one month without a vote being taken as to its further continuance for the same period; and no levy shall be ordered unless by a vote of the majority of the members, nor can it continue longer than three months without a vote again being taken.

It may be observed *en passant* that the present satisfactory relations existing between the engineers and their employers is the direct outcome of the memorable engineering strike and lockout of 1897-8, which caused a loss of hundreds of thousands of pounds in wages and contracts which went to foreign competitors, and was a victory for neither side. But the lesson, costly though it was, was perhaps worth all that it cost. It taught the folly and wastefulness of strikes, and it showed the necessity of the adoption of some method whereby they could be avoided in the future, and means could be provided for masters and men to meet on an equality and amicably discuss their grievances instead of nourish-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing them in secret. It is safe to say that only the most insensate and criminal folly on both sides could produce another serious strike in the engineering trade.

The North of England cotton trade has always been one of the greatest of Britain's industries, and perhaps there is no trade requiring such a high grade of intelligence among the operatives, or which has carried organization to greater perfection or has more successfully eliminated the "glib-tongued popular leader." The scale governing the wages of a Lancashire cotton spinner is so complicated and so technical, and so many things have to be taken into consideration in adjusting the scale, that both operators and operatives have found it necessary to employ agents to represent them who devote their entire time to their duties. The operatives appoint their agents only after a searching civil-service examination, the nature of which may be seen from two questions taken from an examination-paper for candidates applying for the general secretaryship of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Provincial Association of Bolton and District, as quoted by Beatrice and Sidney Webb in "Industrial Democracy":

"Extract the square root of 80's counts to three places of decimals, and then ascertain the required turns per inch for both twist and weft, the assumed standard being the square root of the counts, multiplied by 3 1-8 for weft, and 3 5-8 for twist."

"An upright shaft runs at the rate of 80 revolutions per minute, and has on it a wheel with 70 teeth driving a wheel with 40 teeth on the line shaft. Over each pair of mules there is on the line shaft a drum 40 inches in diameter driving a counter pulley 16 inches in diameter. On the counter shaft is a drum 30 inches in diameter, driving a rim pulley 15 inches in diameter. Give the revolution of the rim shaft per minute."

These questions seemingly would appear to be fantastical and requiring knowledge having no relation to the duties to be performed by the secretary of a trade-union, but, as a matter of fact, they are extremely practical, because, as the Webbs point out, "the earnings of a cotton spinner, for instance, depend upon the complex interaction of such factors as the 'draw' of the mule, the number of its spindles, and the speed with which the machinery works. To compute the operative's earnings, even with the aid of the elaborate printed tables known as the 'list,' entails no ordinary amount of arithmetical facility." In case of defective

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or obsolete machinery or inferior cotton, allowances are made to the operative, and if the employer has added improvements to his machinery by which the operative can increase his output without additional strain, the employer may make certain deductions from the "list."

Although the cotton operatives have shown a disinclination to adopt the scheme of boards of conciliation under the presidency of an outside chairman as has been done by the coal-miners, they have adopted the system in principle and have displayed the same spirit of progression in finding a remedy for industrial disputes.

In the Lancashire cotton trade there is a joint committee composed of operatives and employees whose functions are to settle all questions relating to wages and conditions of labor. The scale is determined by joint agreement between committees of the employers and the Northern Counties Amalgamated Weavers' Association, the central executive body, which has subordinate local unions in every town in the Lancashire cotton district; the scale continuing for an indefinite period, but subject to change at any time by mutual consent, or if no agreement can be reached recourse can of course be had to a strike or a lockout. But it is noteworthy that the scale under which the men are working at the present time went into effect in 1892, and since then there has been only one change, when an advance of 2½ per cent. was made in 1898. It will, therefore, be seen that the Lancashire cotton trade has enjoyed a long period of peace, which has resulted to the advantage of both sides.

The principle governing the weavers' association is that neither side to the agreement has the right to make any material modification in the wage-scale without an opportunity being afforded to the joint committee to bring about a satisfactory adjustment.

It seems unnecessary to cite further specific instances of the existence of boards of conciliation in various trades, although it may be mentioned, parenthetically, that the principle of voluntary conciliation has been adopted by the boot and shoe trade, the Northumberland miners, the North of England iron and steel trade, the men working in the Cleveland iron district, in the Nottingham lace trade and numerous others. Nearly every trade presents some modifications in the details of the scheme to suit the particular requirements of that trade or the temperamental idiosyncrasies of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the workers, either in the matter of the appointment of arbitrators or the method in which disputes are brought before the Board, but fundamentally they are all the same, and the basic and controlling principle is that neither employers nor employees shall take advantage of their assumed strength and dislocate the ordinary routine of life by preventing men from working or by the men refusing to work, unless it becomes apparent after repeated conference and discussion that compromise is impossible, or that a matter of principle is involved which admits of no compromise. A majority of the great wars of history were capable of being avoided had justice, reason and forbearance been substituted for injustice, anger and hate; and it is no exaggeration to say that industrial warfare is usually born in passion and nourished by ignorance and cupidity, neither side being more guilty than the other, and both being equally unyielding and resolved as a matter of pride to win the fight. If a board of conciliation accomplishes nothing else—although in most cases it has accomplished a great deal more—it at least affords an opportunity for passion to cool off, for men to take a more rational view of all the circumstances surrounding the particular matter in dispute, for a careful and considerate deliberation of the material facts involved, and the equities and the ethical considerations which may influence the relations between employer and employee. Thus, the rules adopted by the Board of Conciliation and the Leicester boot and shoe trade (Rule XVII.) provide "that there must be no suspension of work, either at the instigation of the employers or workmen, the main object of the Board being to prevent this. If any suspension of work takes place, the Board may refuse to inquire into the dispute till work is resumed, whilst the fact of its having been interrupted will be taken into account on considering the question. That in order that the complainant or complainants may not lose through waiting, any recommendation of the committee of inquiry or any decision of the Board shall be made to date back to the time of the complaint being sent in." Similarly, the rules of the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the manufactured iron and steel trade of the North of England contain this injunction (By-law 20): "Above all, the Board would impress upon its subscribers that there must be no strike or suspension of work. The main object of the Board is to prevent anything of this sort, and if any strike or suspension of work

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

takes place, the Board will refuse to inquire into the matter in dispute till work is resumed, and the fact of its having been interrupted will be taken into account in considering the question. It is recommended that any changes in the modes of working requiring alterations in the hours of labor, or a revision of the scale of payments, should be made matters of notice, and as far as possible of arrangement beforehand, so as to avoid needless subsequent disputes as to what ought to be paid."

It has been pointed out that in nearly all the trades both parties to the agreement pledge themselves loyally and faithfully to observe the decisions of umpires or arbitrators, but in some trades to insure compliance with the terms of the charter the parties have entered into a bond to observe its stipulations, and attention may be called to at least one notable instance where disregard of a decision resulted in a heavy fine being imposed upon the union violating the compact.

The Federated Association of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers and the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, in 1895, entered into the usual agreement for the appointment of a Board of Conciliation and placed in the hands of trustees the sum of £1,000 as a guarantee for the observance of the compact. Lord James, of Hereford, one of the law lords, was designated as the Umpire. In 1890 a dispute arose between the proprietors of a London shop and their men, who offered to submit the question to the Board of Conciliation, but this the men refused. The employers then claimed damages because of the violation of the terms of the agreement, which contained the usual stipulation that there should be no strike or lockout pending a decision by arbitration. The claim for damages was argued before Lord James, who decided that the union had violated the terms of the agreement and awarded to the Federation the sum of £300 as damages to be paid out of the trust fund. After the award was made the official organ of the union said: "The fine of £300 imposed upon the union for the breach by our London members we hope will be a warning to executives not to break away from rules and agreements entered into, for while the agreements are in existence we have every desire that they shall honorably be carried out by both sides," and that they have been honorably carried out by both sides is evidenced from the fact that this was the only occasion Lord James was required to draw on the trust fund.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These brief recitals of the facts prove themselves and will be accepted by the reader as worth something or nothing, according to his point of view or preconceived ideas regarding the "rights" of capital or labor, but it must be self-evident that the substitution of conciliation for hostilities must have a tendency to reduce the number of strikes and produce valuable economic results. Official statistics substantiate the correctness of this belief.

The last annual report of the Board of Trade shows that in the last five years there has been a steady decrease in the number of disputes, the number of workers affected, and the aggregate number of working days of all disputes. The number of disputes has fallen from 864 in 1897 to 642 in 1901, the latest available statistics; the number of working people affected has decreased in the same period from 230,267 to 179,546, and the aggregate of working days from 10,345,523 to 4,142,287; but as the report points out, these figures, gratifying as they are, express only a part of the work performed by boards of conciliation and their share in bringing about the more friendly relations that now exist between employers and their workmen. "The settlement of strikes and lockouts," the report says, "forms but a very small proportion of the work of permanent conciliation and arbitration boards and joint committees. To appreciate these agencies at their true value, account should also be taken of the numerous alterations effected in working conditions by them without any stoppage of work having taken place. Thus, in a recent report on changes of wages and hours of labor in 1901, it is shown that 75 per cent. of all the changes of the year, as measured by numbers of persons affected, were arranged by sliding scales, wages boards or other methods of arbitration and conciliation, while only 2 per cent. of the changes followed upon strikes or lockouts."

The lesson which American labor — and employers equally — may learn from British labor is obvious, but more important even than the beneficial result, which is so apparent that it needs no elaboration, are two other purposes accomplished, the value of which is incalculable. The trade-union becomes an enormous force for conservatism and stability and acts as a restraining influence upon employers who would seek to take an unfair advantage of their men, and no less so upon those men who are unscrupulous in the use of their power over an employer. Agreements for the settlement of disputes cannot be made between indi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vidual employers and individual employees; to achieve practical results they must be between federated employers and federated workmen. The trade-union furnishes the machinery on the part of the men.

But perhaps even more important is the respect inculcated for the sanctity of an agreement, and the moral effect which follows from loyal acquiescence to authority, even although it means personal loss. It is no small thing for men to have their wages reduced by the decision of an umpire who is neither an employer nor familiar with their trade, and yet it speaks much for them when they accept the decision uncomplainingly, and have no more thought of disregarding it than they would of violating the mandate of a court; when they accept the decision because they believe in the honesty and sincerity of their umpire; and because having entered into an agreement their honor requires that it shall be observed. Men who have entered into an agreement to submit their disputes to the test of arbitration are not likely to make demands which an arbitrator will not sustain, nor to substitute violence and intimidation for argument.

Nor is labor the only gainer. If an employer can be induced to meet his men face to face, frankly to discuss with them their demands, and show a disposition to deal with them fairly, some of the antagonism which now exists may disappear; at least it may be assumed that a way is opened for a settlement of their differences and many difficulties are removed. It is the statement of large employers of labor in England that the frequent interchange of opinions among themselves and their men, through committees and other agencies, promotes harmony and eliminates friction, because the employer can know of those things to which the men object, and it is always easier to dam a rivulet than it is to stop a torrent; and free and full discussion often convinces the intelligent representatives of labor that what appears proper and reasonable to them is impossible in view of the state of the market or other circumstances of which they are ignorant.

A. Maurice Low.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER AS HE IS.

BY A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

AMERICANS have heard a great deal of abuse — principally from inaccurate fireside critics—about their soldiers and officers in the Philippines, about the cruelty of the latter towards the natives, and many other misdeeds; court-martialings of officers have been frequent and their publicity increased by excessive big-drum beating. Perhaps a few frank remarks on the American soldiers from one who is neither an American citizen nor a military man, but who has had exceptional opportunities of observing the American soldier, both in active service and in time of peace, may not be unwelcome to unprejudiced people.

To put it mildly, one might almost feel inclined to state at the outset that most accusations brought against the American soldier are "absolute nonsense": the other few "almost nonsense." There have been cases, of course, where American soldiers have actually — but generally under severe provocation — lost their heads and behaved in an inhuman way; but these cases, when the facts are impartially sifted down, are but few and far apart. It is all very easy for people who sit at home—thousands of miles from where the bullets fly—to grow hysterical over this and over that, and to condemn those who, at the risk of their lives, endure hardships in the service of their country; but it should ever be borne in mind that the most humane war can but at best be a revoltingly cruel occurrence, during which, despite the kindest intentions in the world, infinite destruction, pain and torture are bound to be caused to innumerable people on all sides.

I am in no way defending those who have actually been guilty, for no one abhors more than myself the very idea of inflicting pain on any living thing, whether man or beast. I think, indeed, that no punishment can be severe enough for those who un-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

necessarily subject the enemy to any kind of torture under any consideration whatever, and I most certainly condemn the "water cure" and such infamous methods of procedure—which, unfortunately, have been resorted to in a few cases—even when the enemy himself may have been indulging in similar ways. If the boast is made of importing a perfected civilization, retaliation is, to my mind, not best effected by descending to the low modes of barbarians. Above all, let us give savages a noble and good example. In the case of American officers and soldiers in the Philippines, as far as I could ascertain, the proven instances of unnecessary cruelty towards natives were but a very exaggerated few. It seems, therefore, a pity that the names of many brave and innocent officers have been mercilessly dragged in the mire, either through the spite or jealousy of others or on meagre and untrustworthy testimony of interested parties. There is to my mind no more demoralizing influence for a soldier of any country than unfair and unmerited accusations brought against him by ungrateful fellow citizens. Again I repeat, if cruelties have occurred, punish to the utmost the actual offenders, but by no means be unjust and drag in as well those—the majority—who have done and are doing excellent work and faithfully serving their country.

I have had the honor of meeting a great number of American officers, both during the Chinese war and in various parts of the Philippine Archipelago, and I was in most cases struck by the morally magnificent type of men who lead the American army—fair, open-minded, businesslike, hard-working officers, combining patience in tedious plodding through excessive office-work, with pluck and dash and, above all, tact and accurate judgment when in the field. It is not to be regretted that the American officer lacks the overwhelming love for wearing-apparel which characterizes military men of many European armies, and his simplicity of clothing is, indeed, well matched by his easy, manly, sensible manner. There is no superfluity of gold braiding, no idiotic monocle deforming one section of the face and impeding the sight, no exaggerated sword dangling noisily upon the ground, no swagger worth noticing; but when it comes to doing the actual work of a warrior, although it is accomplished with no show and no pomp, it is done well, very well.

Such men as those who hail from West Point have, of course,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acquired polish of manner, and are, in a way, possibly superior, owing to the perfect military training they have undergone; but one cannot help being impressed in the American army by the remarkable, natural, gentlemanly manner even of those many officers who have risen from the ranks. This is particularly noticeable to any one who is familiar with a similar class of men in European armies, and is due, I think, mostly to the fact that, taken personally, the American soldier is vastly the superior of the two in intelligence, and, although often but self-taught, he is ever so much better educated than the average soldier of other countries. Hence his facility in rising again with ease to a social grade which, in enlisting as a soldier, he had but temporarily discarded. In most European armies, the officers who rise from the ranks are comparatively few, as few men of the better classes have the moral courage of the American to descend in order to make at all costs a fresh start in life; also because conventionalities and red-tape make it somewhat difficult and, anyhow, unpleasant for such men to get on at all in the army, their career being generally hindered and hampered in every possible way, if not officially, at least in private life, by brother officers who began life in luckier circumstances. In England, for instance, although matters are gradually becoming better, the ablest of young officers with no private means of their own would find it very up-hill work to keep pace with the extravagant social habits of their brother officers, and any attempt to diverge from antiquated social rules would not be looked upon with favor, as we unfortunately had occasion to hear not very long ago.

The modest way in which I saw American army officers live in the Philippines could not but be admired. The regimental mess was generally of the simplest description, absolutely devoid of even the remotest suspicion of luxury; in fact, in many of the messes one had to sit on empty packing-cases, as chairs were scarce, if there were any at all; while such articles as silver plate upon the table were luxuries not even dreamt of. The food was of the most humble kind, and perhaps in this line national sentiment often took the place of climatic precautions. Bacon played an important part in the diet, with abundant helpings of Boston beans and liquefied canned tomatoes, with some occasional but often unrecognizable pie to follow, the whole washed down with boiled water. So that no accusation can be brought against

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the American officer for luxurious living. Many, it is true, suffered from dysentery or other internal troubles in a more or less marked degree, but yet all seemed happy enough and one seldom heard a grumble.

Perhaps one word of admiration is also due to those plucky and faithful ladies, the wives of American officers, who not only follow their husbands to outlandish countries, but brave by their side the dangers of a tropical climate, far away from all the most cherished minor pleasures of feminine taste. They were, indeed, a ray of sunshine in the otherwise monotonous social existence of some of the more remote camps in the Philippines, and with the incessant thoughtful charm and unconventional brightness so typical of American ladies they were indeed a boon to their lucky husbands, as well as the respected idols of the entire camp. A tropical climate such as that of the Philippines is most disastrous to the looks and the general health of white ladies; but these self-sacrificing American women, strong-willed and ever alive to their duties, endured it all with a courage which one could not but thoroughly appreciate.

Barring occasional jealousies, which are but human, it was always a very great pleasure to me to notice how cordial, almost brotherly, American officers were to one another when off duty, regardless of social standing or rank. After all, whether a man is a general or a lieutenant, it should not be forgotten that a human being is a human being. The custom of the American officer in this respect should certainly serve as an example to officers of other nations, who, I think, would benefit much by it, as well as the interests of their respective countries.

The American officer in the Philippines is in many of the more inaccessible posts often overworked to an unnecessary degree. I have known of one officer who filled no less than fourteen different posts, and, considering the amount of paper-work which is demanded of American officers, it is not surprising that that officer, after some years of strain, broke down. It was, nevertheless, most interesting to note how, under the stress of circumstances, an American officer, besides being a splendid soldier, can be switched on to do outside work of the most varied kinds. Some of the most practical Provincial Civil Governors I had the pleasure of meeting in the Philippines were detailed from among army officers; and, indeed, on going about, one had to come to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the conclusion that army officers could turn their hand, and generally successfully, to almost anything. Several of the Government Bureaus in Manila were in charge of army men, and such matters as temporarily running farms and schools seemed to make a pleasant change in the usual routine of daily military work.

Let us come to the private soldier and examine him as a man. If you can discard the blunt manner (which is mostly assumed to show his independence), and the profusion of swear-words (which seem to come somewhat more naturally) interspersing his conversation, there is something very nice about the American soldier. He is intelligently simple in his ways, ever full of resource, quick and shrewd, unboundedly good-natured, and possibly he is, of the soldiers of various nationalities who have come under my observation, the most humane of all. Yes, indeed; behind a roughness of speech which is almost startling, a heart of gold is to be found in most American soldiers. I have seen men in the field, on more than one occasion, whom, from outward appearances, one would put down as perfect brutes, gentle and considerate—almost as gentle as women—towards wounded comrades or fallen enemies.

The American soldier has a blunt code of honor of his own, devoid of conventionalities, but with some sound gentlemanly principles in it.

Non-American military critics pound a great deal on the fact that the American soldier is undisciplined as compared with European soldiers of several nations—the German, for instance, the most perfectly drilled soldier in the world; but, as I have had occasion to point out elsewhere, the finest "parade soldier" does not always make the best soldier in the field, and to my mind discipline carried out to an inordinate extent is detrimental rather than otherwise in producing an efficient fighter. With the perfected weapons one possesses nowadays, it is more the development, not the suppression, of individual intelligence that counts in gaining victories. Perhaps the Chinese war afforded the best lesson, as the soldiers of all nations were to be seen fighting side by side.

Comparisons are always odious, but I remember making one at the time, in a book called "China and the Allies," between the American and German soldiers when marching through

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Forbidden City in Pekin the day we entered it. I wrote then:

"The American soldiers were most enthusiastically cheered by the Allies, and they deserved it, for, indeed, they had done excellent work in the campaign. On this particular occasion, when one could contrast and compare them with other nationalities, one was specially struck by the individually intelligent appearance of the men and by the matter-of-fact mien of the line officers. They presented quite as good a military appearance as soldiers of any other nation. The German contingent came next. Splendid men, tall, heavy, machinelike, and all so exactly alike in height, build and shape that they seemed made in the same mould. The contrast between them and the natural, easy-going Americans was great, their extraordinary parade march—as unnatural a way of locomotion as was ever invented—causing much merriment among less perfectly drilled soldiers of other nations."

I further observed:

"The American soldier is the type, with some slight improvement, of the soldier of the future. He is a general and a tactician in himself. He possesses a great deal of dash and courage, much unconscious perception and natural intelligence. He did wonders in the Chinese campaign, and were he to possess a stronger physique and a healthier constitution, both of which he does much towards ruining, he would decidedly be the best soldier in the world."

Having since seen much of the American soldier in the Philippines, I am prepared not only to repeat that statement but to add that, with the many sensible improvements which have of late been adopted in the American army, for fighting purposes the American soldier is as perfect as he can be made under existing circumstances. There remains, of course, the matter of his health and endurance, both of which, I think, are gradually improving, but which may yet be made infinitely better. It is a pity—a very great pity—that the American soldier drinks more copiously than wisely; but that, again, is one of the great scourges of over-civilized countries, and for this, more than the soldier himself, are to be blamed that lot of solicitous people at home who cannot differentiate between rules which read well on paper and those which do actual good. If drink in moderation were permitted or tolerated, or at least controlled, as it used formerly to be, by the military authorities, much poisoning of soldiers by liquor clandestinely obtained could be avoided. Once the temptation of doing that which is forbidden were removed, I think a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

good deal might be accomplished in reforming the soldier on that line, which is his weakest. Drinking in moderation, and with some judgment as to what one drinks, I do not suppose, hurts anybody to any serious extent; but the misdirected efforts of well-meaning people at home to superintend the morals of soldiers is tantalizing to the latter in an extreme degree, and often leads to results diametrically opposed to those expected.

Barring the drinking, the American soldier is no more immoral than the average civilian one meets—in fact, a great deal less—because his work in itself is not conducive to a life of leisure.

Really, when one takes the trouble to examine the average type of American soldier, it is rather interesting to note what a well-behaved, honorable man he is. He ever combines with all his fighting instincts, which are developed to an intense degree, a remarkably good business head and an eye to improving himself in the world. Many a discharged soldier I met in the Philippines had forfeited his free passage back to the States in order to start farming or trading; and a number, I was glad to see, were quite successful in their efforts. Others, the more reckless, those who wished to make a fortune in a week, but did not, had taken to mining; but these, with few exceptions, were less desirable. Then again, others had started bookstores, shops, saloons, anything at which money was to be made.

Contrary to what many people believe, the American soldier is not generally disliked by the natives in the Philippines. Taking things all round, I think the average native has a great respect for the American soldier, and, certainly, in a more intensified degree, for the American officer. This does not mean that misunderstandings, either from private quarrels or other personal causes, do not occasionally arise, and the innocent frequently suffer for the guilty. But it is always well to differentiate between the sentiment towards individuals and the sentiment towards the men as soldiers. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that the average American regards every native in the Philippines as a sort of traitor, a suspicion which the natives with their strongly developed natural insight feel most keenly. When the Americans and the natives learn to trust one another more frankly and implicitly, I believe what little friction there may be between them now in the Philippines will be altogether removed.

A. Henry Savage Landor.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOME INDUSTRIAL TENDENCIES IN IRELAND.

BY GEORGE F. PARKER, COMMISSIONER OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

No apology is necessary for reviewing anew, from time to time, the conditions to be found in Ireland. However these may change in general, the poverty, the distress, and the resulting disaffection always appeal to a people who, prosperous themselves, and with nothing in all their history to suggest a famine or even a serious shortness of food over any wide area, have developed a sense of sympathy naturally much stronger than that existing in countries, some part of whose widely scattered population is accustomed to periodical suffering or scarcity among a considerable proportion of their inhabitants.

It is often charged that Americans are inclined to meddle in Irish politics; but, if the sentiment of the people of the United States towards Ireland could be analyzed, in all its bearings, the discovery would be made that, instead of being based upon political grievances, both its genesis and its reason are found in the serious economic defects which make that country one of the poorest in the world. When it is recalled that, in 1900, the United States contained nearly five million persons of Irish birth or parentage, and as many more of Irish ancestry; that the majority of those who desert Ireland each year still seek American refuge; that a large proportion of them have only been able to do so by the money, painfully saved, and remitted thence by relatives or friends who have preceded them; that, in addition, thousands of remittances, small individually, but large in the aggregate, are sent each year for the support of those too young or too old to emigrate; and that large sums are sent back in the form of legacies, gifts to schools, churches, and for other public

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

purposes, too much emphasis may easily be laid upon the comparatively petty contributions intended to promote or assist political agitation.

The fact that there are in the United States more than twice as many persons of Irish blood as in Ireland itself, and that they are frugal, industrious, and hopeful, while those in the country of origin become fewer each year their prosperity lingers, ought to give pause to these extremists always to be found in the dual Irelands all over the world. Eighty millions of people, who in their home affairs know nothing but Home Rule, and absorb, without difficulty, ten millions of Irish, may well be pardoned the impression that, if concessions are to be granted, those who remain behind ought to have some one of the things they want rather than the many forced upon them. All these realities and aspirations may be the result of a political or social delusion, but, if so, they deserve and demand analysis and patience rather than the vituperation and questioning of motives, which, on both sides of the Atlantic, spring up ever ready for use.

For my own part, I am in no wise concerned with the internal politics of Ireland, and, in the course of this article, shall not refer to it, either for citing a fact or expressing an opinion. But the awful poverty, plain to him who goes to Ireland with eyes and ears open, is no delusion. Go where he will, he must see it or hear of it. During a recent visit there, in pursuance of a public duty, I travelled over five or six hundred miles of the Irish railways, and also drove or rowed over another hundred and fifty miles, sometimes in well-known places, again in others off the ordinary lines of tourist travel. I tried to see its varied life, now as represented in Dublin during the week of the exclusive and aristocratic Horse Show, then in the vile slums so painfully in evidence in the capital, Cork, and Belfast, and even in many smaller places. I mingled everywhere with its people, including travellers in trains, the ever-present and most effective constabulary, the parish priests, the farmers in the market towns, laborers in the streets, manufacturers, merchants, and United States Consuls, in at least ten out of the sixteen counties visited. I also saw both managers and people at the Cork Exhibition—one of the most creditable and useful held anywhere, even during an age of exhibitions.

In addition, I came into contact, in Dublin, Cork, Killarney,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drogheda, Belfast, Londonderry, Omagh—the principal centres from which I walked or drove and in village and country—with the men who, realizing how poor Ireland is and how closely its woes tread upon the heels of its poverty, are bending every effort to promote a change for the better. These men, with no party interests to serve, are seeking to check emigration—now become a real drain upon Irish life—by removing its causes and thus making it unnecessary. While they really carry their religion into it, it is only to show their contempt for theological distinctions—something more needed in Ireland, perhaps, than in any other country in the world. The excuse for this article, from the first word to the last, is the desire to outline, as briefly as possible, the conditions, to tell of the work these men have done and are trying and hoping to do, and also to emphasize its necessity.

There is little occasion for analyzing anew the people of Ireland. Their energy and activity, their qualities and their enforced migration, have made them as familiar in every quarter of the globe as at home. But that decline in numbers, rapid after the famine, since then steady and persistent, is an element which cannot be too often emphasized. As this policy was both encouraged and necessary, the race soon found a foothold in every new country. For some years it has been recognized, in Ireland and elsewhere, as a serious economic weakness, and the mainspring of the efforts, now directed in an organized way, to the encouragement of self-help, is the determination to check the movement in some wholesome way. Those engaged in this movement believe that there is no real industrial reason for its continuance. They perceive that Ireland is slowly taking its place as a nation of the very old and the very young and, as a result, is losing concurrently the power of initiative and of execution. They see its young drawn away each year by many thousands, while its old men and women, massed out of all proper proportion, remain to become charges upon industries, most of which tend, by the absence of numbers and strength, to decline in importance and in assurance of prosperity and happiness.

This diminution has gone on during each decennial period, from the 6,514,473 in 1851, until, in 1901, only 4,456,546 remained. Prior to 1874, the predominating element in this steady human drain was males; since then, with the exception of two or three years, the disparity has been on the side of females. Once

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or twice the number of both has dropped below forty thousand, while the average for eight of the years scattered through the whole period was more than 137,000. Illustrating the ages of emigrants, it is interesting to note that, for the fifteen years between 1880 and 1894, only 7.9 per cent. were under fifteen, and 9 per cent. over thirty-five, thus leaving 83.1 per cent. between these ages. In 1891, the births per 1,000 of population were 23 in Ireland, 31 in England, and 34 in Scotland, while the rate for marriages, which was 14 in Scotland, 15½ in England, was only 9 in Ireland. Curiously enough, in spite of poverty and distress, and of the persistent policy which leaves the young and the old behind, the death rate, in the same year, was 18½ for Ireland, 20 for England, and 20½ for Scotland—a fact which bears strong testimony to the natural healthfulness of the country.

This drain has so diminished the supply of effective labor that some industries have been ruined, others have declined, while all, except shipbuilding, have suffered. Influences the most various have operated, some political and some religious, and, as is generally the case, all of them economic. Agriculture, the one industry to which the people of Ireland have pinned their faith during all their history, has been the principal sufferer. Whatever industrial importance the land may have elsewhere, in Ireland it is engrossing. With no great mineral resources, with manufactures declining or ruined, with the lack of capital and the resulting monopoly of commerce by its predominant political partner, with the neglect of fisheries, perhaps inevitable from the constant drain upon its labor supply, the one thing that remained was the land. This is not the place to consider the land laws, even with all their odd features, not the least curious of which are the kaleidoscopic changes made in them since 1870; but there they are, there is the land itself, and there is also the fact that pasture has gradually succeeded tillage, that methods of culture are outgrown, that landlords and tenants have become sworn enemies, and that neither have the capital to take advantage of any new demands upon it.

As a consequence, confidence and stability have disappeared, while the few laborers that remain are so ill-paid that many live only just above the starvation line. Farm wages, low as they are in all European countries, seem, in Ireland, to be measured by the pauper standard. In England, the average is about fourteen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shillings a week, while, in the sister island, it does not rise above ten shillings. The usual result follows, that this cheap labor is ineffective and little more profitable to its employers than to itself. As this is the foundation industry, it sets so low a standard for all others, except the highest class of artisans, that the rate of average wages in manufactures in Ireland ranges from ten to thirty per cent. below that paid in England, presumably for the same work, in character, time, or quantity. In defiance of the claim that cheap labor is the one thing necessary, it is still impossible to draw capital from England, Scotland, America, or elsewhere.

With such untoward conditions and in spite of the fact that one agrarian agitation has succeeded another, it would have been surprising if men of heart and intelligence, holding assured positions in Ireland and interested in its progress, had not recognized that the evils lay deeper than was generally thought. And so they have. During the last one hundred and thirty years, since Arthur Young directed attention to some of its serious economic abuses, one writer after another has emphasized this phase. But till lately none had succeeded in so focussing attention upon it as to produce any decided result. Neither famine nor emigration, neither violence nor peaceful agitation, had wrought an effective change. It was impossible to organize co-operation, because the various elements could not agree long enough to do so. Capital was not available, because it could earn a larger return elsewhere. In one form or another, government has given what it called relief, generally upon the demand of a faction or part of the people.

About 1889, Mr. (now Sir) Horace Plunkett, representing one of the best known families in Ireland, began the work, the necessity for which he had long had in mind.* His first efforts were directed to the encouragement of agricultural co-operation. Although Ireland had long been known as a successful centre of the dairy industry, it was showing a decline.

* A full and extraordinarily interesting account of the work here referred to, from the pen of Sir Horace Plunkett himself, will be found in the volume entitled "Ireland in the New Century," recently published in London by Mr. John Murray and in New York by Messrs. E. P. Dutton & Co. As Sir Horace explains in that book, his purpose in writing it was twofold: to give a philosophic insight into the chief Irish problems, and to present the facts which appear to him to illustrate these problems in process of solution.—EDITOR "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These earlier societies, though narrow in their range, were pioneers, so far as system and effectiveness were concerned. They did enable the farmer to purchase, on joint account, what he needed, including seeds, manures, and machinery of the best quality, at the lowest possible price. This took him out of the hands of the neighborhood usurer—the curse of Ireland, as of poor populations wherever found. Later, in order that these local bodies, widely scattered, might more effectively carry out the purposes of their existence, they were federated. These were followed by a system of agricultural banks, intended still further to promote self-help in the matter of supplying capital; and one of the most encouraging results of these various movements was the gradual substitution of cash dealing for the credit system. Based upon the principle of self-help, other societies have been organized to bring producers and consumers nearer together.

The earlier steps have been described in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Suffice it to say here that they have been carried on under both public and private auspices. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction—itself the result of combination—has been the medium for public exploitation. Of this, Sir Horace is the Vice-President and the real head. Through it he has been able to command both public money and attention, in the press and from active, enterprising men in all parts of Ireland. This latter would have been impossible without some cord connecting with public sentiment. He has also been able to carry out experiments, well-known elsewhere, but comparatively new, on any commanding scale, in Ireland. He first made his work known to the whole United Kingdom, in 1901, at the Glasgow Exhibition, which was only a preliminary, so far as attracting attention was concerned, to the one held afterwards in Cork. By reason of these successes, he has attained, in a short time, the highest recognition, so that, in public esteem if not in nominal rank, he soon towered over Lord-Lieutenants and Irish Secretaries.

He had been compelled to begin at the beginning and to do formally what the pioneer of a new community on the American Continent has done automatically for three hundred years. It follows that Ireland, an old country, has had to learn the simplest elements of that large co-operation which goes on among settlers in new countries. It is greatly to the credit of its people that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they have been both able and willing to study this feature, almost absent, in any variety of form, from the life of England itself. This public recognition made it possible to carry out at Cork, before the eyes of a quick, watchful people, experiments dealing with their own conditions. The Department has sent specialists into every county and district, thus commanding support from governing bodies, societies and individuals. When a farmer found his potato crop diseased, he had only to forward a sample in order to receive back by telegraph instructions which would enable him to stop or mitigate the ravages. At the experiment stations, now here, now there, men and boys all over Ireland have been taught how to feed calves; to check or cure the diseases of animals; to build stables, or byres, as they are called; to rear and handle bees; to construct comfortable cottages at small cost and on sanitary lines and to get, at the fairest prices, the furniture to put into them. In short, the farmers of Ireland—many thousands of whom have been able to take advantage of the agrarian legislation enacted since 1870—have learned, in an authoritative way, just what was most needed to make them independent and progressive.

Not content with this public work, Sir Horace planned and organized, concurrently, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. This is a private body, composed of four hundred members, and includes representatives of every creed, party, business, and social force in the country. Its purposes were on all-fours with his public work. In fact, it was impossible for me, as a spectator and inquirer, to discover where the efforts of the Board of Agriculture began, or those of the Irish Agricultural Society ended, so harmonious were they, both in purpose and working. If any difference was discernible, it grew out of the greater freedom of the Society. It is able, perhaps, to throw into its literature more liveliness than would be consistent in a blue-book, with its obvious limitations. One of its leaflets, entitled "Home Rule in the Dairy," asserts a liberty in headline of which the Department of Agriculture would naturally be deprived. It has been free to urge that social life has a close relation to co-operation, to preach direct the doctrine of self-help, always and everywhere so necessary, and, in general, to make its appeal with a directness and force both attractive and potent. But the fact remains that these bodies, working together, with the same idea,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have so supplemented each other's efforts as to show most decided results. The returns in the first column of the following tabular statement—meagre though its showing is when compared with those which register its progress during two succeeding six-year periods—enable me to condense much history into little space and to give a comprehensive idea of useful work:

PROGRESS OF FARMERS' CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

	1889.	1895.	1901.
Dairy and agricultural societies	1	56	187
Auxiliaries	—	8	81
Agricultural societies	—	10	106
Co-operative banks	—	1	102
Poultry societies	—	—	29
Miscellaneous	—	—	46
Federations	—	1	2
Total number of societies	1	76	553
Total membership	50	3,800	51,000

If any reader in the United States, whether native of Ireland, tracing his ancestry to it, or interested in its present and future without much regard to its past, would like to know what is going on there, let him write to the Secretary of the Irish Agricultural Society in Dublin for some of its leaflets and other publications. He will at once be interested in the work on its own account and will be able to study what, for its magnitude, is, perhaps, the most useful industrial movement now under way anywhere in the world. He will learn that there is something in Ireland besides the political agitations and bitter religious quarrels with which, in some quarters, it is common to associate its name.

Other matters, kept continually in mind, include those cottage industries, so much needed to give employment to women. Owing to neglect in the matter of design and the absence of careful instruction in execution, Irish lace-making, with its long traditions, and embroidery, for which there has always been a demand, had fallen somewhat into decline. Teachers have been sent out into village and rural districts, where they have met with the most encouraging reception. The technical schools have taken it up, and new societies for encouraging this order of industries on the artistic side have been successful in making new centres for them. In like manner, an attempt has been made to give instruction in the growing and preparation of flax, to devise cheap and efficient insurance, and to provide libraries. Grazing,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cottage gardening, and fruit-drying have been studied and encouraged. Similar efforts have been devoted to the fishery interests and to the marble quarries in the West. In brief, every industry, whether vigorous or declining, has been so helped as to put new heart into those connected with it.

No attempts at amelioration have been without visible result. Thus far, the laws dealing with land have enabled about one-tenth of all the tenants to buy their holdings. That this and all the other processes have been attended with difficulties and discouragements must be assumed, but, in general, they have promoted the success of the co-operative movements to which reference has been made. All the forces, working together, are certain, in the end, to change the form of agitation, if indeed they do not remove the necessity for conducting it on the old lines.

Perhaps one of the most wholesome of the signs has been the steady improvement in the housing of the population. Judge William O'Connor Morris, who probably knows the whole of Ireland better than any other man in it, says: "The dense and wretched hovels which, sixty years ago, barely sheltered the millions of Irish indigence, if still too frequent, have been, for the most part, effaced; the houses of the better class have greatly increased in number, though the population has enormously declined." This is verified, from the latest full returns available, by the classification of houses, in 1841 and 1891:

	1841.	1891.
Houses of the first class.....	40,080	70,740
Houses of the second class.....	264,184	466,632
Houses of the third class.....	533,297	312,589
Houses of the fourth class.....	491,278	20,617
Total	1,328,839	870,578
Population	8,175,124	4,704,750

The improvement in rural housing in Ireland has even attracted so much attention in England that the activity of Irish Boards of Guardians and of the newer local governing bodies is commended to imitation. That the movement has been carried on at a heavy cost, both in tax and debt, is certain, but, if the present degree of prosperity and the favorable prospects are maintained, the burden will not be felt. The fact that this improvement proceeds steadily has such an influence upon development that its drawbacks cannot be looked upon as serious.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Improvement in church architecture must have a profound influence upon the general growth of pride, both public and private. Seventy years ago—before the great emigration movement began and when the boon of Catholic Emancipation had only recently been granted—church buildings were in a tumble-down condition, generally devoid of artistic merit, situated in unsightly or inconvenient places, reflecting the misery of the people. The testimony of travellers and residents emphasizes the presence, nearly everywhere, of untidy and badly furnished structures, and of the ragged, unkempt, and miserable communicants. Now, it is a pleasure to see, wherever one may go, north or south, whether Catholic, Anglican, or Presbyterian, the well-chosen site, the attractive building, well-seated and equipped, and the tidy, well-dressed people, going, Sundays, on foot or in their own humble conveyances, to worship. Everywhere—more than in any other country in Europe—one sees and must applaud the reverential attitude of a people who, if they have suffered, have at least maintained close relations with their religion. Much of this is due to liberal contributions made by those who, be it said to their credit, while seeking homes in America and other countries and finding work and prosperity, have deemed it a duty as well as a pleasure, regardless of creed, to contribute freely, out of their abundance, to their religion in the country of origin.

In like manner, it is impossible not to see how well the priests of the dominant Church have husbanded their resources, what business qualities they have demonstrated, and how they have made themselves potent examples to the people about them. More notably than any other single class of workers or leaders in Irish social life, they have been able to contribute to the success of everything that promised to promote industrial improvement. So true is this, that none of the movements now in progress would have been possible without the co-operation of the clergy, not only by sympathy, but in that far more important element, actual participation in its details.

I recognize that many features in the industrial life of Ireland, which it would have been a pleasure to discuss, are missing from this review. The yearning for new opportunities, found everywhere, north and south, among the humble workers; how strong the demand is for industries with which to occupy themselves during the winter months; how plainly they see the difficulties

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that surround them; how keenly they recognize the shortcomings of themselves and the people of whom they are a part, and yet how strong the belief is in themselves and their race; and with what affection they look upon Ireland—all these are pathetic and important elements of the life in which the observer finds himself. Then studies of the comparatively small average consumption of intoxicating liquors and of the widespread influence which temperance movements have had, would supply knowledge of a phase of the national character not generally appreciated, and correct many misapprehensions. The art instinct, never completely destroyed, the demand for its revival and cultivation, and the general recognition of its existence by public authorities, by all the earnest among the clergy, as well as by the active, true, working friends of Ireland, would have filled some pages with interest. That annual migration of laborers, mainly from the congested districts of the west to other parts of Ireland and to England and Scotland, the result of a sad necessity; the attitude of the railways; the relations of horse-breeding to industry and its influence upon the people; the increase in the number of cattle; the standards of food; and, above all, the intimate commercial relation, amounting almost to dependence, of Ireland to the Kingdom of which it is a part—all these I recognize as belonging to my subject.

But no possible compression will enable a writer to treat, within the limits of a single paper, these varied industrial conditions. The complications are so many, the effect of prejudices and differences is so apparent, while the newly roused hopes and energies are so promising, that little more can be done than skim the surface. The reader who is also a well-wisher of Ireland may, however, discern signs of the revival of its industries and its prosperity. With this prospect in mind, those interested in the country ought to seek sources of information more complete than a short article in a magazine or newspaper can supply. If any word of mine should lead a few travellers and students to go to the country for themselves, they may be assured of ample reward in the beauty of its scenery and in a human interest nowhere surpassed. But they must not expect to see any of these, in a compensating way, if they merely scamper over it; the country, the people, and the problems incident to both, do not lend themselves to this method.

GEORGE F. PARKER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOCIALISM AS A RIVAL OF ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV. THOMAS C. HALL, D.D., PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

MODERN Protestantism is wofully ignorant of its most formidable rival. The Catholic Church has been painfully awakened in France, Belgium and Italy. Protestantism awaits its awakening. There is now no country of economic importance without a growing party raising the banner of Marxian Socialism.* To understand this sweep, it must be steadily remembered that Socialism is not simply a political economy, nor yet even a philosophy of society, nor a scheme of reform. Socialism is a religious faith, and is being embodied in a religious organization. Hence it happens that no calm academic discussion has any more effect on its fortunes than the sneers of Pagan philosophers had upon the activities of fanatic monks in the second century. It is not a science but a dogma; it is not a belief but a profound trust. True it is that it is based upon a political economy far from contemptible; it also involves a philosophy of life, cruder indeed relatively than its political economy, and it catches up and uses the phrases and conceptions of modern science more thoroughly, if not more intelligently, than does modern Christianity.

It is, moreover, in Socialism that organized Christianity has its most serious and most determined rival. Christian Science, the Salvation Army, Zionism and a hundred other supposed rivals are not really more than temporary phases of religious variation

* The Social Democracy of Germany has now over three million votes, and is the largest party in the Empire. In Austria, the voting power is nearly a million. In the United States, it is now probably about a quarter of a million. In France, it is over a million and a half. And the party is strongly entrenched in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Italy, and even now in Spain.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with which Christianity as an organization has always had to contend. In Socialism, a new hope and a new faith have found definite expression. In view of such possible rivalry, it is highly suggestive that the economic world-conditions to-day reproduce, in many ways, those which so greatly farthered the spread of an organized and dogmatic Christianity. Now, as in the days of Rome, the world is physically united, as it has not been since the fall of the Empire. Since then, not until the last century was travel as safe and as frequent as in the days of Roman domination. Now, as then, the world is intellectually under the dominion of a common stock of ideas and methods. What Greece did for the Roman world, experimental science does for us. Now, as then, three tongues give any teacher the ears of the world's real leaders, and the wide extent of the world's dominion gives a freedom of utterance which the smaller conditions of life made impossible before, and which reminds the student of the really astonishing liberty of speech permitted by Rome. Moreover, now, as in the days of the Empire, the land open to exploitation is rapidly passing into a few hands, and the urban population increases at the expense of the country as it did in the days of Nero, and equally to the alarm of the responsible power-possessing class.

The economic factors that shaped so largely the fortunes of early Christianity have never been fully dwelt upon. But the modern historian is beginning more and more to recognize the fact that the Old Catholic Church rose to power because, under existing economic conditions, it was the only organization with sufficient strength among the proletariat to reorganize the bankrupt world.* Moreover, the whole history of organized Christianity is to a great degree dominated by that inherited responsibility. It is noteworthy that the strain and tension of that day Hatch finds reproduced in our own. Not, indeed, that Christianity was the only organization among the proletariat:

"The Roman world was overspread with religious societies. There was no longer any fixed religion, but there were religions in plenty. . . . . There were none, especially among the lower classes of the people, who did not belong to some union of the kind. . . . The members of the societies were even formed into a sort of general brotherhood.'†

* See Hatch's "Organization of the Early Christian Churches," 1880, pages 32-36 and 141-151. Consult also opening chapters of Ritschl's "*Entstehung der Alt-Katolischen Kirche*," 1857.

† Rudolph Sohm: "Outlines of Church History."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In fact, the Christian Church fell heir to a mass of proletariat organizations in a manner only comparable to the way in which to-day Socialism is falling heir to trades-unions and reform agencies of even middle-class origin.*

Something, however, had happened in the religious world of lower-class Rome. As Sohm says: "their heaven had been emptied of its gods." Just that has happened in the home of Marxian Socialism. In Germany, the narrow dogmatism of a formal and middle-class State Church has left the working-man to his fate. And into the breach Socialism has rushed. The day in which the Socialist lecture-hall is taking the place of the church begins to alarm even the dull leaders of a decaying orthodoxy.† Says Mr. Austin Lewis, one of the most thoughtful and sane Socialist writers:

> "In Berlin to-day, five out of six people who are to be seen on the streets going to some meeting or other, are going, not to church, but to hear addresses from the platforms of the Social Democrats upon the rights and duties of the working classes. When their children have acquired the habit of substituting the lecture-hall for the church, the latter will no longer confront a careless proletariat with no religion, but a sturdy proletariat with a very definite, if materialistic, substitute for a religion, with an organization, with speakers who are at least as able as the theological colleges can produce, and without any doubt as to their working-class sympathies."‡

What has gone so far in Berlin is going on all over the continent of Europe, and is beginning rapidly to take place in the United States. Indeed, the student of church history who wonders feebly over his books what was the power exercised by the early wandering prophet and the ecstatic dreamer of dreams, would do well to visit a Socialist meeting, stirred to enthusiasm by a visiting "comrade" whose reputation as a speaker has preceded him. The burden of testimony at such a meeting is a more or less intelligent repetition of the catch-phrases of Marxianism; and, with that as a basis, ringing and confident assurances of a world con-

* Such as the Nationalist clubs founded by Bellamy.

† For abundant evidence at first hand the reader need only consult the Reports of the *Christlich-Sociale Partei* for the last three years.

‡ "The International Socialist Review," February 1, 1903, Vol. III., No. 8.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quest; and faces worn with toil light up with the radiance of assured victory and final world-peace.

Here begin some of the strange and striking analogies that should make every student of primitive Christianity an earnest student of Socialism. For the dogmatisms and the dreams of the two organizations, in spite, of course, of serious and many differences, deserve the most careful psychological comparison and analysis.

What gives Socialism an incalculable advantage over all trades-unionism and independent societies is its tremendous organizing faith in a final world-conquest. Going out of the close and often sordid air of trades-union squabbles into the atmosphere of Socialist idealism, even the calm and hostile critic must feel the force of this faith in the great unseen dream of an ultimate and complete victory. This uplifting vision was what marked the message of early Christianity, as over against even the most effective and most democratic of the other religious unions. These offered, indeed, temporary refuges, promising to every member some warmth and shelter while he lived and a decent burial when he died. The Christian guild was profitable both for this life and the life to come, and stirred men's blood by the promise that soon, no man could tell how soon, the meek, the oppressed, the poor and the slave would inherit the earth, and would reign triumphant, where they were now suffering seemingly final defeat in life's battle.

The Socialist hymn-book rings with the joy of just such certain success:

> "Still brave deeds and kind are needed,
> Noble thoughts and feelings fair;
> Ye, too, must be strong and suffer,
> Ye, too, have to do and dare.
> Onward, Brothers, march still onward;
> March still onward hand in hand;
> Till ye see at last Man's Kingdom,
> Till ye reach the Promised Land."*

What are an eight-hour day and a doubtful ten-per-cent. increase in wage, compared with a hope like that? The Socialist dream fills out, in the somewhat starved imagination of the proletariat working class, just the place the prophetic dream of a

* Havelock Ellis in "Socialist Songs, with Tunes."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reign of God filled out in the enhungered fantasy of the early Church.

Moreover, this hope, like the hope of primitive Christianity,* was in its origin just as catastrophic in its character. Paul expected the triumph to come at any time. This age was to pass away with dramatic judgments, and one of the early struggles was over the modifications of this view occasioned by recurring cycles of disappointed expectation. The primitive view has never been overcome, and to-day, at each requickening of Christian zeal, the old premillenarian type of hope at once reasserts itself. So, also, Karl Marx and all early Socialist prophets hailed already the day of proletariat triumph, and fondly expected in their own time the catastrophic change which economic conditions were automatically to produce. Even now, the old leaders, like Bebel, scoff at the weakness of faith that demands present reform as an earnest of completer triumph, and the constant debate is about the character of the "revolution." Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ferri and all the old-line leaders maintained that it was the grossest heresy to try and substitute "evolution," in the sense of political compromise even of a temporary character, for "revolution," complete and final.† A saner feeling has taken possession of the working Socialism of to-day. Karl Kautsky,‡ in the Socialist International Congress, held in Paris in 1900, carried substantially the following resolution:

> "In a modern democratic state the conquest of the public powers by the proletariat cannot be the result of a *coup de main;* it must be the result of a long and painful work of proletariat organization on the economic and political fields, of the physical and moral regeneracy of the laboring class, and of the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies."

This has caused ever since heated discussion, and was carried by about twenty-nine affirmative against nine negative voices. It corresponds to the change that took place in the eschatology of

* For best discussion, consult Johannes Weiss's "*Die Predigt Jesu vom Reich Gottes,*" 1900.

† Compare also James T. van Rensselaer in "The International Socialist Review," July 1, 1903.

‡ Karl Kautsky himself believes, however, in a final "Revolution," and has written an interesting work thereon.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the early Church between the dates of the first and second letters to the Thessalonians. Nor will the earlier Socialist teaching die easily. As the Christian Church settled down to a more comfortable acquiescence in the existing order, men like Tertullian were filled with just the rage and contempt which now stir Bebel when he discusses Vollmar, Bernstein and Jules Faures, and from much the same instinct. For here again a striking analogy between dogmatic Socialism and early Christianity comes to light. Both are redolent of the scents of a class battle. In the canonical Scriptures, apart from the famous "Sermon on the Mount,"* we have only to consult James ii: 1-7. And far down the history of Christian triumph, this note is still sounded, as in Tertullian. Not that the proletarian then, any more than now, lacked educated leaders. Indeed, the account of Ambrose's work in Milan, or of Tertullian's in North Africa, show abundant evidence of how fruitful a field for propagandist activity was the educated proletariat. The most astonishing growth of orders of monks pledged to poverty was the emphatic recognition, far down the Middle Ages, of this class character—a survival of the conception that only a poor and obedient man could have his part and lot in proletariat deliverance. And at each quickening of the religious life of the Middle Age Church, there was a strong revival of this conception.

No one can thoughtfully read the Gospel of Luke without seeing how primitive and strongly entrenched, in the very centre of early Christianity, this possessionless character of the movement was.

Out of this proletarian character, so strongly marked in the early Church, came another peculiarity which also is noteworthy in Marxian Socialism. A possessionless class is not only a relatively unstable population, but one in which national feeling is weak. The Christian or Socialist group is bound to become cosmopolitan in sympathy. The group is no longer based on geographical considerations; the organizing conception is a common discontent and a common hope. The proletariat of the days of Jesus, like the proletariat of to-day, felt itself cut off from national ambitions, and class feeling became stronger than all

* Of course, incorrectly so called. It is a collection of scattered poems and sayings of Jesus, gathered by Matthew, about the Kingdom conception. See the writer's "Messages of Jesus," pages 110–125.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national feeling. The common burden of economic inferiority acted powerfully in detaching the various possessionless classes from the old group lines, and bringing them together in a new solidarity of common interest. This could not happen without a struggle in the days of Jesus. Paul's principal battle was for just such a new solidarity on the basis of a common faith. He felt, and rightly felt, that the future of Christianity was staked on that issue.

In precisely the same way, the National Socialist Party of Germany, now decently buried, was an attempted protest against the cosmopolitan character of the Social Democracy. It was an utterly vain attempt, and died an ignominious death.

The National Socialist Party failed to take into account an entirely new standard of valuation, produced by the very conditions of the proletariat life and hope.

The conditions of the proletariat struggle are reproducing today, in another particular, the history of early Christianity. The power-possessing class press sees in the internal struggles of Socialism a sure indication of inherent weakness; and there is scarcely any exaggeration possible of the bitterness of these dissensions. Yet it must be remembered that they have never reached the heights and depths of the contests waged by the parties in the early Church. The whole Empire was shaken by the fierce feuds of warring monks, who fought in the streets and poisoned rival superiors, and used all the arts of blandishments, intrigues, bribes and threats to secure the banishment or death of hated rivals. It is intense fanatical faith that makes such quarrels possible, and without that faith Socialism would be no danger to the existing order. Should a political Socialist party in the near future reach power, such contentions would be as serious a menace to the stability of society as were the desperate conflicts between Arian and Orthodox parties in the old Roman world.

If the reality of these analogies (amid, of course, many differences) is recognized, we are in a position to study and understand the important question of the rise and the significance of dogma. The usefulness of a dogma does not depend upon its truthfulness. What is essential is the unity of the fighting organization upon some dogma.* The new organizing enthusiasm must not only have

* Consult for another view, Harnack's "*Dogmengeschichte*," Vol. I., pages 17–19.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expression, but must find an outward unity in that expression. This is the real explanation of the tenacity of dogma. It becomes the symbol of the fighting organization, the banner of an army.

Christianity as a personal religion may not need dogma; as an organization, really fighting for the reconstruction of society, it has never been able to dispense with dogma.

To-day, Socialism, as an enthusiasm fighting a desperate battle for a reconstruction of society, is doing just what the Old Catholic Church did; it is hardening into a dogmatism, and doing that under our eyes.

It has its trinity of essentials. These are: the Marxian surplus value theory; the doctrine of a class struggle; and the economic interpretation of history. In 1900, a careful examination of some forty Socialist papers, having a total circulation of over a million, showed an extraordinary uniformity of statement along all these lines.*

The political economy of Karl Marx is too elaborate for the comprehension of the unintelligent; but it is, at least, as well understood as was the fundamental theology of Paul (cf. II. Peter iii; 15-16), and furnishes a basis for the hope of a future society amply provided with the material means of existence. The economic interpretation of history, as a dogma, plays just the part that the doctrine of predestination has nearly always played when the Church was really struggling. To a weak, small and economically inferior group, faith in the great unseen forces of the universe, as working and fighting with them and for them, is an incalculable source of aid and comfort. Hence, in the dark and stormy days of Christianity, a doctrine of predestination, not to be sharply distinguished from fatalism, has always played its part.

The same rôle falls now to an "economic and material interpretation of history."† It was from Roman Stoicism that early Christianity borrowed the form of its teaching, and the German phenomenalism of Feuerbach seems to be the primal source for Socialism.

* Compare Chapters X. and XI. of the Socialist Campaign Book for 1900.

† Consult Professor Seligman's careful estimate, in his "Economic Interpretation of History."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the origin is almost immaterial.

The real significance of the dogma is the support it gives to a profound faith in a new-coming order, inevitable in spite of all apparent weaknesses.

And, as in the days of the Old Catholic Church, so to-day, dogma furnishes weapons with which to fight half-hearted opportunists. The struggle began for Christianity with Gnosticism. The marks of the conflict she bears with her yet. Her efficiency as a fighting organization depended upon her escaping the influences of corroding intellectual analysis, just as to-day, the claims of Vollmar and Bernstein for the liberty of "self-examination and criticism" excite the fury of responsible leaders, and are only permitted within the express limits of a dogmatical confession of faith.

The same struggle between a dogmatic faith and political opportunism is going on in Italy and France, as well as in the United States. The real struggle now, as in the fourth century of Christian history, is not for intellectual exactness, but for an uncompromising unity as the basis for a fighting organization. The main interest of Athanasius was not a correct metaphysics, but a platform on which the Church could stand and struggle for the conquest of the world. The same is the real interest of the leaders of Socialism. If only Bernstein will act with them now, he can do all the thinking he wants to after the world-conquest and reorganization have been attained.

In both movements, the sweep and scope of this world-ambition dominate all minor interests; and both may be seen historically choosing, with unerring instinct, the weapons nearest at hand for their militant purpose. As fighting organizations, both restrict themselves deliberately to men who distinctly do their thinking within prescribed lines. This position the Roman Communion still maintains;* and in a feeble way heresy trials within Protestantism still remind us in how small a measure Catholicism has been intelligently rejected by Reform bodies.

Exactly the same instinct that made the embryo Old Catholic Church refuse the flattering overtures of an attractive, specula-

* See the suggestive encyclical of the present Pope.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive Gnosticism, with its distracting and disintegrating intellectual processes, leads fighting Socialism to repel even the advances of the "Socialism of the Chair," if that is to imply the introduction of all ranges of academic doubt. The immediate purpose in hand is the possession of the producing tools of society.

After that purpose shall have been achieved, formulation of a correct philosophy will not be a great difficulty. So think and even preach those who are the responsible leaders of militant Marxian Socialism. Such dogmatism is strength, of course, but it is also profound weakness.

Dogmatism rendered the triumphs of the Old Catholic Church, and the power of Imperial Romanism, vain bulwarks against the rising tide of a sceptic, Pagan renaissance. The world was, indeed, conquered—not, however, by truth for truth, but by an organization, worthy of much praise, but yet fatally defective for the permanent purpose of establishing even its own ideals, and much less the more splendid dreams of a reign of a Father-God.

The real strength of Socialism is not its dogmas, but its faith in a supersensuous reality, a profound faith in a coming reign of its ideals of righteousness. These ideals are class ideals, often as bare and unattractive to a power-possessing class as was the Christian dream to a hypercritical and sensuous Paganism. But just because Socialism has formulated those proletariat ideals, it has faith in itself and succeeds in arousing unbounded enthusiasm among its adherents. The paternalistic and essentially feudal and aristocratic communion of Rome is rapidly losing touch with the producing classes, so far as she has ever controlled them. Individualistic Protestantism is linking its life and its fortunes more and more with the present power-possessing and privilege-possessing class. The producing class has begun to find in militant Socialism its religious expression—"a little materialistic," though not much more so than some Jewish dreams of a land flowing with milk and honey, or some Christian hopes bound up with a new Jerusalem with streets of gold.

There are also just such dangers attendant upon this transference of interest as accompanied the rise of Christian dogmatism.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The struggles of proletarian Christianity seem often to have hardened and even embittered it. The Apocalypse represents, among the canonical writings, some of these tendencies.* The class-struggle doctrine of the modern Socialist will, all too easily, become a doctrine of class hate, and a dream of justice be transformed into a vision of judgment upon "the crime of capitalism."

Thus, in all attempts to understand the rapidly swelling tide of Socialist enthusiasm, it must be steadily remembered with what we are dealing. No intellectual defeat of the political economy of Karl Marx will have any more effect upon Socialism than the philosophic sneers of ancient Rome at the miracle stories of early Christianity. No appeals to national values will affect a cosmopolitanism even more logical and far-reaching than that of the early Church. The spirit of a fighting patriotism has been transferred to a group organized on a different basis. No persecution will do more than quicken the zeal of earnest followers and harden the dogmatism of the Socialist faith. The silent graves of the so-called Anarchists† in Chicago form already a place of sacred pilgrimage. The existing order is not challenged by a theory of political economy, nor by an academic philosophy of life; it has to deal with a religious faith, a new standard of values, a fighting ideal and a militant enthusiasm rapidly hardening into an aggressive dogmatism. The Roman Empire gave way to the Old Catholic Church because it was rotten economically. For genuine Christianity this was a grave misfortune, however dramatic the victory may seem to have been. Christianity was dogmatized and formalized and organized into a new Paganism. The really vital question before the existing order to-day is: How far is it ready to meet the tremendous strain of changing economic conditions, or how far is it really as rotten as Socialist enthusiasm proclaims it to be? If the Socialists are right, and to them fall the responsibilities of reorganizing a weary and outgrown civilization, then it is to be devoutly wished that they may become accurate students of the rise of the Old

* Compare also II. Thessalonians i:4-10, a writing probably not Pauline, and after 72 A.D.

† As a matter of fact it should be remembered that the men who were hung were really Socialists, Socialists at that time not being distinguished from Anarchists.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Catholic Church, and that they would more carefully guard themselves against the dangers that beset it in the hour of its victory. If the existing order is to maintain itself, then it must find some more zeal-inspiring dream than any yet on the horizon of either feudal Romanism or individualistic Protestantism. Perhaps we, too, might do well to learn again the lessons of success and failure written in the pages of the gradual transformation of primitive Christianity into the Old Catholic Church, as *securus judicavit orbis terrarum.*

THOMAS C. HALL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MUSIC OF EDWARD MacDOWELL.

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN.

When Mr. Ernest Newman, an English critic of acuity, remarked in a recent essay that the Romantic movement in music had "done its work,"—though "even in our own day it still makes an occasional ineffectual effort to raise its old head, ludicrous now with its faded garlands of flowers,"—it must doubtless have seemed to many that he spoke with point and justification. Indisputably, the Romanticism which Mr. Newman meant—the Romanticism which expended itself in the fabrication of a pasteboard world of "gloomy forests, enchanted castles, impossible maidens, and the obsolete profession of magic"—has had its day, and now seems, in the retrospect, incredibly puerile, incredibly fatuous and wrong. But this was the Romanticism of perverted sentiment—a false thing, a mistaken thing, a thing of "vain shows and shadows and ideals." There is another Romance: a spirit incomparably fresh and vital, a primeval impulse and aspiration, that is not barren and moribund, but quick and increasing. "Through the heart," says Fiona Macleod, in one of her most persuasive pages, "through the heart, I go to lost gardens, to mossed fountains, to groves where is no white beauty of still statue, but only the beauty of an old forgotten day." There, by those fountains, and in those groves and gardens, flowers that immemorial Romance of the transforming imagination. It is a Romance that is in no wise divorced from reality—that is, in fact, but reality imaginatively apprehended; if it uses the old romanticistic properties, it uses them, not as substantives, but as symbols of intense emotional realities. For the essential romanticist and the essential realist are fundamentally at one—save for differences that are merely temperamental—in their primary purpose to represent "the thing as in itself it really

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is"; and it is in no sort an accusation against realism if one attempts to define those differences by saying that, in its most undivided estate, the romantic spirit concerns itself with essences rather than with details, with impressions rather than with documents, with the heightened expression of spiritual substance rather than with literal representation. Which is merely to say that it deals in a truth that is no less truth because it is reflected imaginatively, and through a beauty that may often be in the last degree incalculable and aërial.

It is this authentic spirit of romance that has an exquisite life in certain music of to-day—preëminently, I think, and in a most complete and notable degree, in the work of a contemporary American composer, Edward MacDowell, whose recent abandonment of the Chair of Music at Columbia University, to allow of an uninterrupted devotion to composition, gives sufficient pertinence to a present consideration of his achievements. I account Mr. MacDowell so notably a romantic of the finest attainment because, true to the deeper genius of his art, he devotes himself, in his practice of it, to a rendering, extraordinary for vividness and felicity, of those essences and impressions which have seemed to me to be the ultimate concern of the romantic spirit in its dealings with life. He has chosen occasionally to employ, in the realization of his purposes, what seems at first to be precisely the magical apparatus so necessary to the older romanticism. Dryads and elves inhabit his world, and he dwells at times under faery boughs and in enchanted woods; but for him, as for the poets of the Celtic tradition, these things are but the manifest images of an interior passion and delight. Seen in the transfiguring mirror of his music, the moods and events of the natural world and of the incessant drama of psychic life are vivified into shapes and designs of irresistible beauty and appeal.

Both in theory and in practice, Mr. MacDowell stands uncompromisingly for music that is, of intention, persistently pictorial and impressionistic. Thus his themes are Lancelot and Elaine, Arthur, the Gaelic Cuchullin, the sea, a deserted farm, a water-lily, meadow-brooks and will-o'-the-wisps, starlight, a haunted house, a wild rose: a poet, it will be observed, thrall to "the mystery and the majesty of earth," although scarcely less thrall to purely human emotion. If one is, at times, inclined to praise in him the poet of the natural world at the expense of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

musical humanist, it is because he is, constitutionally and by right of ancestry, Celtic of the Celts, with the Celt's intimate vision of natural things, and his magic power of poetically vivifying them. It is making no transcendent claim for him to affirm that, in such splendid fantasies as his "To the Sea," "In Mid-Ocean," "In Deep Woods"; in such exquisite impressions as "Starlight," "To a Water-lily," "To a Wild Rose," there is an inevitable felicity, a graphic nearness and beauty, an imaginative intensity and lyric fervor which exist nowhere in external tone-painting save in Mr. MacDowell's own work.

Music, of course,—from Hadyn to Wagner and Raff,—abounds in examples of eloquent natural imagery; one need not, in claiming a certain excellence for him, imply that Mr. MacDowell has ever threatened the supremacy of such things as the "Rheingold" Vorspiel or the "Walküre" fire music. It is as much in his choice of subjects as in the peculiar vividness and felicity of his expression, that he is unique among tone-poets of the external world. He has never attempted such tremendous frescoes as Wagner delighted to paint; nor does he choose to deal with the elements—with winds and waters, with fire and clouds and tempests—in the epical manner of the great music-dramatist. Of his descriptive music by far the greater part is written for the piano; so that, at the start, a very definite limitation is imposed upon magnitude of plan. You cannot achieve on the piano, with any adequacy of effect, a mountain-side in flames, or a storm at sea, or the prismatic arch of a rainbow; and as Mr. MacDowell has seen fit to employ that instrument as his principal medium of expression, he has refrained from attempting to advance musical fresco-painting beyond the point at which Wagner left it. Instead, he has contented himself with such themes as he treats in his "Forest Idyls," in his "Four Little Poems" ("The Eagle," "The Brook," "Moonshine," "Winter"), in his first orchestral suite, in the inimitable "Woodland Sketches" and "Sea Pieces," and in the recently published "New England Idyls." As a perfect exemplification of his practice, consider, let me say, his "To a Water-lily," from the "Woodland Sketches,"—than which I know of nothing in objective tone-painting, for the piano or for the orchestra, more sensitively felt, more exquisitely accomplished. The method is the method of Shelley in the "Sensitive Plant," of Wordsworth in "The Daffodils," as it is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the method of Raff rather than of Wagner—although Raff could never have written with precisely that order of delicate eloquence. The thing is steeped in loveliness, in sheer natural magic. So in his "Wild Rose," in his "Starlight," in his "To the Sea,"—always he is the admirable poet, intent upon realizing, through his chosen medium, a deep and intimate vision of the natural world. And he can persuade you, too, with Forgael, of "the streams where the world ends—"

> "Where time is drowned in odor-laden winds
> And druid moons, and murmuring of boughs. . . ."

It would be unjust, though it would not be inexcusable, to give too great a prominence, in considering Mr. MacDowell's work, to his poetry of nature. If, in his own field, he is unapproachable as the poet of the "Woodland Sketches," he challenges great achievements as the author of the "Four Songs" (*Op.* 56), "A Deserted Farm," "Told at Sunset," the "Scotch Poem," the four sonatas, and certain of the "New England Idyls." Here, certainly, are profound emotion, a deep and transporting tenderness,—an "eloquence of the heart,"—in which again one is tempted to trace the essential Celt.

To take him at his best and most representative, let me consider in detail that work of his in which he has attained, as I believe, to the summit of his present powers: the "Keltic" Sonata, his Fourth in E minor (*Op.* 59). Mr. MacDowell's genius has here found its consummate flowering: nowhere else in his work are its distinguishing traits so strikingly disclosed—the breadth and reach of imagination, the magnetic vitality, the richness and fervor, the conquering poetic charm. It is, so far as he has gone, his ripest work—a higher flight than its forerunner, the "Norse," as that, in its turn, surpasses the earlier "Eroica" and "Tragica."

It was a fortunate, if not an inevitable, event, in view of his temperamental affiliations with the Celtic genius, that Mr. MacDowell should have been made aware of the suitability for musical treatment of the ancient heroic chronicles of the Gaels, and that he should have gone for his inspiration, in particular, to the legends comprised in the famous Cycle of the Red Branch. In a motto which he prefixes to the Sonata, he gives this index to its poetic content:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Who minds now Keltic tales of yore,
Dark Druid rhymes that thrall,
Deirdrê's song and wizard lore
Of great Cuchullin's fall."

Mr. MacDowell has attempted no mere musical recounting of those romances of the ancient Gaelic world at which he hints in these lines. He has aimed to make his music, he says, "more a commentary on the subject than an actual depiction of it"; but to say that he has realized vividly and beautifully all that this denotes—all that which is essentially implicit in the source of his inspiration—would be but a niggardly statement of the truth. It would be juster to say, rather, that he has recalled in his music the very life and presence of the Gaelic prime—that he has "unbound the Island harp." Above all, he has achieved that "heroic beauty" which, believes Mr. Yeats, has been fading out of the arts since "that decadence we call progress set voluptuous beauty in its place"—that heroic beauty which is of the very essence of the imaginative life of the primitive Celts, and which the Celtic "revival" in contemporary letters has so singularly failed to recrudesce. For it is the heroic Gaelic world that Mr. MacDowell has made to live again in his music: that miraculous world of superhuman passions and aspirations, of bards and heroes and sublime adventure—the world of Cuchullin the Unconquerable, and Laeg, and Queen Meave; of Naesi, and Deirdré the Beautiful, and Fergus, and Connla the Harper.

That this is music which challenges the imagination is undeniable. It makes small appeal to the tonal sense *per se*—to the sense which craves in music merely, in Wagner's phrase, "the susciting of pleasure in beautiful forms." Mr. MacDowell does not write what we presume to call "absolute" music; if one looks to such a work as the "Keltic" Sonata for the kind of gratification which he is accustomed to derive from, for example, a Brahms symphony, he will not find it. It is impossible to account satisfactorily for the last page of the "Keltic" upon exclusively musical grounds: it is as essentially—though not so avowedly—programmatic as the "Scotch Poem" of *Op.* 31; and, like that hauntingly tragic paraphrase, its ultimate appeal is conditioned upon an understanding of the basis of drama and emotional crisis upon which the musician has built. Ernest Newman

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has effectually exposed the absurdity of the popular sophistry which concedes the legitimacy of programme music so long as it sounds "as well as absolute music to any one who does not know the story"; so I need not concern myself with a quite superfluous apology for Mr. MacDowell's indifference to the dicta of the absolutists. But while I must admit his usual indifference, I cannot help wishing that he might contrive some expedient for doing away, so far as he himself is concerned, with the sonata form which he occasionally uses, rather inconsistently, as a vehicle for the expression of that vision and emotion that are in him; for, generally speaking, and in spite of the triumphant success of the "Keltic," Mr. MacDowell is less fortunate in his sonatas than in those freer and more elastically wrought tone-poems in which he voices a mood or an experience with epigrammatic concision and directness. The "Keltic" sonata succeeds in spite of its form—as the earlier "Norse," "Eroica," and "Tragica" sonatas do not at all points—through sheer force of inspiration; though even here, and notwithstanding the freedom of manipulation, one feels that he would have worked to still finer ends in a more flexible and fluent form. He is never so compelling, so uniquely and persuasively eloquent, as in those impressionistically conceived pieces in which he moulds his inspiration upon the events of an interior emotional programme, rather than upon a musical formula necessarily arbitrary and anomalous,—in such things, for instance, as the "Idyls" and "Poems" after Goethe and Heine, the "Woodland Sketches," the "Sea Pieces," the "Fireside Tales," the "New England Idyls," the orchestral suite (*Op.* 42), and the symphonic poems—"Hamlet and Ophelia," "Lancelot and Elaine," "The Saracens" and "Lovely Alda" (after the Song of Roland). Here he is invulnerably himself: here, from first to last, the work is the work of a master of imaginative expression, a penetrative psychologist, above all, an exquisite poet.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SON OF ROYAL LANGBRITH.

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

PART VI.

XXVI.

ANTHER had driven home from Wakeford with a heart softened more and more toward what had been the odious self-compulsion of the day, by his thoughts of the pleasure that had shone upon him from James Langbrith's face when they met upon the platform before the veiled effigy of Royal Langbrith. There had been a fantastic moment when it seemed to him as if the father's misdeeds might be uncovered when the son tore those curtains from his face, but nothing had been revealed; and all the fortuities,—one could not quite call them providences,—had joined to keep his evil life still in the dark. Anther submitted; he had said to himself he could do no more than he had done; he was not sure that he had done unselfishly in the business, so far as he had acted, and yet he could not have done other than he did. That was his consolation; and now he was going to let events drift as they would; he would never again attempt to stay or steer their course. He had even meant to come to the luncheon at the Langbrith house, and though he had gladly spared himself at the call from Wakeford that reached him when he left the platform, yet he was coming now to make his excuses to the young man for having been unable to take a further part in the affairs of the day.

He found Langbrith's mother alone when he went in at the door, on which he tapped with his whip-handle, and then entered without staying to ring. "James not here!" he promptly suggested in sitting down before her, with his hat on his knee; he waved her away when she offered, mechanically, to take it.

"No," she answered, "he said he was going out to look for Mr. Falk. Perhaps he went to Hope's too."

She let her eyes fall and sighed, "Yes," when Anther said "It would be the best thing," knowing that he meant as the only atonement the son could make for the father's wrong. "He has always liked her," she added, "but sometimes I have wondered whether she liked him. She's a strange girl."

Anther said, suddenly turning from his wish to let things drift

Copyright, 1903, by Harper & Brothers. All Rights Reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to something in his immediate thought, "And there is the question of how she would feel toward him if she found out, some time, the sort of injury she had suffered from his father through hers."

"Surely she wouldn't hold James responsible for that!" Mrs. Langbrith started as with a physical pang. "How will it ever come out *now*?"

"I don't know. If Hawberk—"

"What?"

He did not answer, but, "Amelia," he asked, with a compassionate intelligence for her helplessness, "why do you cling to this hope of concealment? We have let that poor boy go on and stultify himself, and involve, innocently enough on his part, two good men like Garley and Enderby in the fraud that he has practised on the community—"

"Do they know?"

"I had to tell them." She caught her breath, but did not interrupt him. "That's all nothing, though, in my regard, compared with the harm you are doing yourself and the trouble you are storing up for the future, when he finds it out, as he must some day, and asks you if you had known it all along. What will you say to him? I wish you would tell him now, my dear, as soon as you see him, without an instant's delay—"

"I can't, Dr. Anther; it's too late. I can never tell him now."

"Then, let me!" It was always coming to that with him.

"No, that would be worse. What would he think of *your* concealment—your being there to-day—but I made you."

"Yes," Anther sadly owned, "I was there because you asked it. I would certainly never have dreamt of being there otherwise." He rose.

She rose, too, and wavered towards him. "Don't you think I knew you did it for me? Don't you think I felt it? And James," she added, incoherently, "he felt it, too. He cared more for your being there than for anything else, he said." Anther laughed forlornly. "Oh, don't despise me! I know I'm a coward, but don't *you* despise me, or I shall die!"

"Despise you! There's nothing but love for you in my heart, Amelia. Why can't we be all in all to each other?"

"Well," she answered, abruptly, desperately, "I will do what you ask. Now I don't care what happens. I care more for you than for all the world. Don't you know that?" She stole her arm tenderly through his arm, and pulled herself towards him, but almost at the moment he saw the fondness die out of her face and her arm slipped from his.

He turned and confronted James Langbrith, standing in the doorway and staring at them. It was his impulse, somehow, to put himself between the mother and the son, but a guiltless shame withheld him and silenced him when he tried to speak. He heard Mrs. Langbrith gasping, "James, I want to tell you that Dr. Anther—

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that I—that we—we are going to get married," and he realized that, in anticipating him, she was heroically acting on her instinct as woman and mother.

"Marry!" Langbrith echoed, and now he looked at Anther alone, as if for explanation of something unintelligible and incredible. He smiled, faintly, and Anther replied with a sudden resentment.

"Yes, I have been attached to your mother for a long time. She has known it, and has consented to marry me."

The resentment was for his own shame, rather than for the young man's words; but not the less it kindled the cold amaze in Langbrith to a flame of hostility that lighted up the whole past of conjecture and misgiving. As one thing after another grew clear in this illumination, the young man's anger burned within him, not so much for the fact immediately before him, as for the series of facts by which he had been duped. But curiously concurrent with his swift retrospect was the flow of his tenderness for Hope, his sense of her love for him and of his love for her, so that it was partly lost in this, and half incredulous, that he began:

"Have you kept it from me so that you can crown my father's commemoration services with it? Was it a surprise you were holding back for me, or were you afraid of telling me?" His anger gained somewhat upon his love, through the mere utterance of the offensive words, but he did not yet speak with a single mind. What was this case, and how did his father enter? He had that still to work out in an unalloyed consciousness.

"Afraid!" Anther dropped Mrs. Langbrith's hand, which he had caught up, and started forward, but he stopped at her cry of "Justin!"

"James," she implored her son, in turn, "you don't know what you're saying! Yes—we *were* afraid. I wanted to spare you—I wanted to wait—"

Now he answered more definitely: "And this is your notion of sparing me! Did you choose this time, of all others, to tell me that you had forgotten my father?"

"Oh, you don't know him. You don't know what you're saying. Indeed—"

"The trouble is that I don't know what *you're* saying. I can't make it out. Is it some wretched joke? Dr. Anther, you know how I have always felt about my father. If you were in my place what should you say to a man in yours? It must be distasteful to any son for his mother to marry again, but perhaps you have special reasons that would reconcile me."

His words were temperate, but Anther felt the bitterness that they covered, and he answered as caustically. "I think I could give you special reasons," he said; but at Mrs. Langbrith's imploring look he stopped.

Langbrith had missed the look and its significance. With the sense of Hope fading more and more, he was able to say: "I can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

imagine them. It isn't the first time that I've suspected you of secretly hating my father, with some such just cause as a nature like his could give a treacherous nature like yours!" He knew, somehow, that he was hurting Anther less than he was hurting his mother, and less than he was hurting himself, even. His rhetoric rang false to him. He was aware that it did not apply. He forced the added words: "But I don't care to know your reasons. I have done with you, sir. I don't want to hear anything more from *you*." He turned from Anther, arrogantly. "Mother, what was it *you* were saying about my father?"

She found Anther's hand again and clung to it. She only said, "I'm going to marry Dr. Anther."

"Is that what you have to say about my father? Well, perhaps it is enough."

"Dr. Anther is the best friend I've ever had in the world, and—" she hesitated. Langbrith stood silent, his mind whirling from point to point without seizing definitely upon any. His mother ended, "He will be a good father to you, James."

At this feeble conclusion, Langbrith's daze broke in cruel sneering. "I am of age, and I need no father but the one that I have lost, and that you have forgotten."

"I haven't forgotten him," his mother answered, with a struggle for courage; "I'm remembering him now as I never did before."

"I don't understand this," said Langbrith, haughtily. "But it doesn't matter. I begin to understand some other things, though. I see now why this man has taken the part he has toward my father's memory, but why he should have had the base hypocrisy to-day—"

"He was there because I asked him," she interposed.

"No matter why he was there; his presence was an insult to the living and the dead, and as this happens to be my house, my father's house, I object to his remaining in it another instant."

"James."

Anther's hand shook in Mrs. Langbrith's clutch, and he burst out: "How dare you talk so to me! If it wasn't that you don't know what you're saying—if your ignorance wasn't so monstrous—but I can tell you—"

"Oh, Dr. Anther," Mrs. Langbrith implored him, and he stopped, panting. "Will you listen to me, James?" She turned to her son.

"Yes, mother, as much as you like. You can't say anything that will change me towards this horrible business, but I will listen."

"Oh, you don't know *what* I could say to you!" she broke out. But then she turned again helplessly to Anther. "Will you—"

"No, you must excuse me there, mother; I could not hear anything from a stranger about family affairs."

"Dr. Anther is *my* family now," she began, bravely.

"That is what saves him from the only answer a gentleman could make to his impudence."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She felt Anther's arm grow rigid under the hold she had laid on it. "Well," she said, with a helpless pathos, "as my son will not let my husband speak for me, I will go with my husband and not speak."

"No, Amelia," Anther said, with the dignity he had lost in his angry burst; "I will go, and you can say what you wish to your son."

"I will say it before you or not at all, and if you leave this house I will leave it with you. I'm not going to justify myself to you, James." She turned to her son. "I need no justification—"

"I am not requiring you to say anything, mother."

"And you won't hear me, then, my son?"

"If you have no need of being heard, as you say, why should I put you to the trouble of explaining anything? I ask no explanation now. It seems that I've been living all my life in a mistake. That's all. I supposed we had the same ideal, and that the memory of my father was as sacred to you as to me; but it wasn't, and that's your sufficient justification."

"Amelia," Anther entreated, "let me leave you with James."

"Not for a moment," she returned. "I can't stay without you, now."

"Perhaps we can simplify the situation by my leaving you with him," Langbrith said. "As it is not convenient for you to let me have my house on my own terms, I will go to the hotel. I can find Falk and go to Boston. When I come back, I hope I can have my house to myself." He recalled himself to add, "You will always be welcome in it, mother."

He turned and went out and left them standing there looking at each other.

"Why didn't I speak? Why didn't I tell him?" Mrs. Langbrith was the first to break their silence.

"I saw you try. It was too late; we're always saying that. Amelia, if this trial is too great for you, I shall never blame you. It has been all sudden and unexpected; no one thing more than another. I didn't dream of your consenting when I came here. Give me up, if you will—"

"And be left with James? Oh no. I care more for you now; perhaps I always did. He was always hard. It seems a strange thing for a mother to say of her son, but it's true; and now he has been cruel. It's worse even than I thought it would be. I'm afraid of him!"

Anther felt within him a curious shifting of the grounds of judgment, and he spoke from the change. "You mustn't condemn him. You must remember how much he had to bear; thinking of his father, as he did, it must seem like sacrilege to him."

"Unless he could know the truth. And if it's too late for the truth now, take me away from the lie. I can't bear it any longer. Can't we live somewhere else?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He took her literally, and her shapeless longings for escape crystallized as he answered, simply, "I've bought the house where I've lived."

"Oh, *have* you?" she cried, with hysterical joy; "then take me there. Let us go now—this instant."

"To-morrow. We can't go now, you know, Amelia."

"I forgot. Now you see how long I have seemed to be married to you. Do you like that? I wish I were! I can't endure to pass another night under this roof! It's hateful, hateful, hateful!"

"Well, you must have patience. You must part kindly with your son."

"With my son? With Royal Langbrith's son?" Her bitterness expressed to him all the revolt of her soul from its long slavery.

He rose in his self-control over her head-long impulse. "You must try to be friends with your son. Nothing else will do, Amelia. If he comes back here, tell him we are to be married to-morrow. Ask him to be with us. You have hidden so much from the world so long that you can hide this too. We mustn't make our marriage a seven days' wonder. You will feel differently towards James. I pity him from my heart."

"I don't."

"You will, and you must do your best to be reconciled with him. I want your life to be free and happy, from this on. I can't let you incur any shadow of self-reproach. You mustn't have one regret to chain you to the past. Good night, my dear. I must leave you here because there's nowhere else. But when James comes back you will see him, and try—for my sake—to make peace with him. Remember that his error is not his fault!"

"It is my fault."

"It is no one's. I can understand—and tell him that I beg his pardon for not considering at once—what a bolt out of the blue this has been for him. We have known for a long time that we should marry, but he has never imagined it, and it seems a wrong to his father, as he has idealized him. He can't help acting as he has done towards us, but he will learn to act differently. Yes, his common sense—and he has plenty of it in the end—will teach him that we could have meant no wrong to his father if he were the best of men. Don't let yourself be tempted, now, to tell him the truth. It could do no good: only harm. Be patient with him. Bear everything from him. He is deeply hurt in the part that is the best part of him; think of that. Amelia, ask him to be present at our marriage. You asked me to be present at—"

"Yes, yes, I will. I don't care what he says to me!"

"That's right. I'll have Mr. Alway. It needn't be in the church, then, it can be—"

"Here!" she shrieked. "In this house!"

"No, in the minister's; and good night again."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

XXVII.

In the quarrel which he had forced with his mother and Dr. Anther, Langbrith was sensible throughout of failing to say the worst. He had not put into words the outrage which was burning in his heart. He had not expressed the amaze, and far less the abhorrence, which he felt. He had meant to hurt Anther to death, so far as insult could kill; and he had meant to wither his mother with shame. But the cruellest blows he dealt them had seemed to fall like blows dealt in nightmare, as if they were dealt with balls of cotton or of down; and he had left them in possession of the place he ought to have driven them out of with ignominy.

He was aware of having been disabled for his part by the confusion which still kept him from a clear sense of what had befallen, and perhaps saved him from its full effect. He had entered upon that scene with his soul full of the good-will, the tender purpose toward Anther, which his happy love for Hope had inspired; and he had not, even yet, after all that had passed, wholly freed himself from it. He kept recurring to it with puzzle and interrogation, as something which in its strange metamorphosis he could not make out. It was still mixed with his thought of Hope. It seemed as if he were going to tell her of it still, as he had meant to do, and to taste the pleasure of her praise for it.

He could make definitely out what he was now really going to do; but he acted upon the notion that he wished to find Falk and get him to take the train with him for Boston. He was sure that he wished to get as far away as he could. That was the first thing. The next thing: to get away among the rest from the humiliation of failing to do justice to himself and his cause. Now he saw a thousand proofs that the offence done him had been long impending; that if he had not been a fool, and blind, he must have known it; but the longer it had been impending, the greater the shame, the greater the defamation, the viler the insult to his father, to have it follow so instantly upon the consecration of his memory. His heart closed about the thought of his father with an indignant tenderness, which, somehow, could not leave his mother out. She had always been part of that thought, and he had an impulse to entreat her against herself, as if being a child she had struck him, and there was no one but her for him to go to for comfort.

His feet set themselves uncertainly, as if his vertigo were physical, while he pushed on, looking crazily for Falk. He could not go to Hope yet.

The Irish girl answered him, at the house which he had left so gayly such a little time before, that Falk had gone out to walk with Miss Susie. He asked "Where?" but the girl could not tell him, and he realized that he must not try to follow them. He could not go home, and he would not see Hope. But he could pass her house; there was that left him to do in the wild need he had of doing something.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She was at her gate, waiting for him, as he knew, after he had bridged the hour of his absence with a recollection of the promise to come back which he had given her. The full moon was looking over the eastern shoulder of the hill, behind the house, into his face; but it was with an inner sense, the vision which love so soon supplies to women, that she read something strange in it.

"Why, James!" she said.

"Come with me, Hope," he bade her, and as she joined him, wonderingly, letting him seize her hand and pull it under his arm, as he pushed away from the house, up the road climbing into the shelter of the pine woods beyond, "I've got something to tell you Hope, something to—tell—you," he forced himself. "My mother is going to marry Dr. Anther."

"How glorious!" she shouted, pulling her hand out of his to leave herself the freer to front him.

"Glorious?" he faltered back.

"Yes! I have always thought what a splendid thing it would be. They are such old friends, and they are just suited to each other: your mother is the best woman, and I think Dr. Anther is the best man, in the world. Yes, it's what *I* call glorious."

"*I* call it infamous!" he said in a voice that struck her with greater amaze than his words by its dreadfulness.

"Why, James Langbrith!" she gasped.

"Infamous! Does no one," he demanded, turning his severity upon her, "remember my father?"

"Why, yes—yes, of course—"

"Is it glorious for my mother to forget him? Could *you* forget *me?*"

"No, never! And I don't believe she's forgotten him. But it's a different thing from you and me. She knows that you will be leaving her some day—why, I intend to take you from her myself, and if I could do such a thing, what mightn't others do!—and then she will be alone; and why in the world shouldn't she marry such an *old friend* as Dr. Anther? It would be different, if it were a stranger, and I shouldn't blame you, then, if you were morbid about it. But Dr. Anther! Why, he's always seemed to me like one of the family. Why, it's ridiculous! What has it got to do with remembering your father? Now, James, if you let yourself get to thinking this way about things, I shall be afraid to marry you. I say it's the best thing that could happen, and I can't understand you."

"No, it seems you can't."

"Oh, very well!"

"I don't mean that," he made haste to save himself. "No one can understand how I have always felt towards my father. You may call it superstition, if you like, but I have always felt him something sacred. I have felt as if he were a mysterious influence in my own life, shaping it for the highest things. And at the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same time it's as if he appealed to me, always, from his grave, for protection. Since I was old enough to realize that I had lost him, I have never been recreant to his trust in me."

"Yes, I should feel just so about my own father," Hope granted.

Langbrith put aside the comparison of his father with hers by something in his tone rather than in his words. "Yes," he assented, though he refused her sympathy on those terms. "But it isn't the same thing. My father is dead; and, while he lived, he was not a man who could make himself understood; I can't explain; in all the letters he left, and his memorandum books, it was implied. I thought my mother felt the same, and that was why she was so silent about him; and I thought that Dr. Anther— But if all the time they were conspiring to betray him—if they were thinking of themselves and each other, when they, of all people in the world, should have been the truest to him—"

"Oh, oh, what *talk!*" Hope broke in. "Why, James Langbrith, I should think you were insane."

"I am, I am!" he choked out. "This thing is turning my brain. I try to realize it, and then when I realize it, I feel that I must go mad. Oh, you don't understand; you can't, you can't! I feel so covered with shame for my mother."

As they talked, they walked swiftly. Now and then the moon struck between the trees, upon them, but in the prevailing shadow they had the seclusion in which they willingly hid themselves, till they reached the top of the ridge that overlooked the house and below that the town. Its varied murmurs came up to them there, with the sound of the mills vibrating through all.

"I suppose," he said, bitterly, for the village, "that they all think I am a fool to care for him, though he made their prosperity, and did more for them than they did for themselves all together."

"Now, you sha'n't be morbid, if I can help it," she broke out upon him. "I don't believe any such thing, and I don't believe you will, when you come to think. Do you want me to talk up to you the way I used to at school, or to pretend I'm afraid of you, and flatter you and make you think you've been abused?"

"How do you mean?"

"Of course, we haven't been together so much since you went to Harvard; but since—since this afternoon, I've been feeling the old way, as if we were children again, and we should always speak right out anything we thought. There wouldn't be any use or sense in it if we couldn't."

"Why, of course."

"And you believe that I care for you more than for any one else in the world?"

"That's how I care for you?"

"And that I wouldn't say anything I didn't believe was for your good?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I can't think of you apart from myself."

"Well, then, listen: you know very well that everybody honors you for wanting to commemorate your father. They don't know anything about him, but they think you do; so that's settled, and we won't have any misanthropy for the people down there. Now you're sure I may say what else I think to you?"

"Anybody may say what they think to me."

"Oh, if you want to be boyish!"

"Go on, Hope!" he said, humbly. "I beg your pardon."

"There's no pardon to be begged or granted. I just want you to see this in the right light, and I've got, first of all, to know what you said to your mother."

"I don't remember the words. But I let her know how I felt," he gloomily answered.

"And to Dr. Anther?"

"Nothing! I wouldn't speak to him. But I let him know that he was ordered out of the house."

"You did! Well, I've half a mind never to speak to you again. And did he go?"

"No. *I* went," Langbrith said, with sullenness, somewhat crestfallen. "I told my mother I was going to Boston with Falk, to-night. Did you expect me to stay and see them married?"

"Where is Mr. Falk?" Hope asked, as if to gain time before answering his question.

"I couldn't find him. He was walking somewhere with Susie Johns."

"And why didn't you go to Boston without him?"

He looked into her face in a daze that did not at once yield to her intention.

"Without coming to see you?"

"Oh, you stayed for that, and now it's too late to go."

"It's too late."

"And so you're going back to your mother?"

"I'm going back to the hotel for the night; then—"

"No, James," she said, gently, dropping her mockery in the seriousness which was in the veiled depth of her nature; "you mustn't do that. I want you to do what I say. Will you?"

"I will listen to what you say."

"No, that isn't enough. I want you to go back to your mother, and say, 'I was all wrong; I know I am wrong because I know you couldn't be.' Will you say that?"

"No, never! I wouldn't say it if you made it a condition of my ever seeing you again."

"Do you think I would do that, or do anything that would make me a tyrant over you? I am not so foolish, no matter how wicked I am. I wouldn't give you up if you chose to stay in the wrong; but I know some day you will want to put yourself in the right, and I don't want it to be too late. Now will you do this? Go and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

say, 'Mother, I can't withdraw what I said, but I know you believe that you are doing right, and I will stay here and be at your marriage.' Will you?"

"Why do you wish me to do that?" he struggled against the sense that he was giving way to her.

"Because I hate you, and want to do you all the harm I can."

He understood. "Well, I can't tell her what you say; but if she wishes to marry that man, she mustn't seem to do it against my will."

"And you'll promise her to be at the ceremony?"

"No, I won't do that, Hope; I won't do it even for you. How could I, without seeming to condone it, to approve of it, when my whole nature revolts against it. Would you want me to act such a lie as that?"

"You know that it would seem a quarrel with your mother if you didn't."

"Well, there *is* a quarrel. She's no mother of mine, if she marries that man."

"But you said yourself that she mustn't seem to do it against your will."

"No matter for that. They can wait till I go away; till I put the ocean between me and the loathsome thought of it. I've promised enough. I can't do more than I've said I would; no, not even for your asking, Hope!"

"Do you think I ask it for myself?"

"No."

"For Dr. Anther, or your mother, even?"

"No."

"For whom, then?"

"For me, I suppose. But you ask too much for me."

She could not mistake his sullen finality. She sighed deeply, but not desperately. "Well, then, tell her that you won't oppose the marriage. And if you are going to do that, you can't do it too soon"; and she began to find her way trippingly down the slope that led from the hilltop into the garden behind her house. Langbrith followed more heavily and more slowly, and less securely of the way, and she had to wait for him beside the gate, on which the moon was trying feebly to paint the hour. He felt that he had no right to her embrace; but, when she turned there and put her arms round his neck, and kissed him, his sore heart melted within him. He wanted to say that he would do what she asked, but somehow he could not, and they parted without further words, except a whispered "Good night!" from him, and a "Good night, dearest! Be good!" from her.

A light showed in the roof-chamber which he knew, and as he turned the corner of the house, toward the street, a low moaning, the precursor of nightmare within, stole out of the lifted sash on the moonlit air. He thought of the burden and affliction her

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

father was; but he did not think, he was too young for that, what a burden and affliction her husband might be; and, doubtless, Hope herself, strengthened for one trial by the other, did not feel either beyond her woman's force, or both more than her woman's share.

Langbrith pulled himself more and more slowly homewards. The outer door was open, as he had left it, and he passed in and stood a moment at the door of the parlor. The moonlight without showed him his mother sitting in the room, as if she had not stirred from the chair into which he had seen her sink when he madly broke from her entreaty.

"Mother," he said, stonily, for all the pathos of the sight, "I know you think you're right, and if you're going to be married soon, I will stay and be present."

At first, she did not answer; but, after he had begun to imagine she had not heard him, she said, "I am not going to be married."

Langbrith waited, in his turn, before he said, "I don't understand; but I suppose you know what you mean, at any rate." And he now felt himself speaking as much to Hope as to his mother; "I've done what I could."

"Oh, yes," she answered, with bitter rejection of the immediate purport of his words, "you've done what you could."

XXVIII.

Mrs. Langbrith did not wait for Anther to come to her for the withdrawal of her promise: she could not take the chance of another meeting between him and her son. She sent him word the next morning, as soon as Norah was up. She had not slept, consciously waiting to send it, and he had not slept, unconsciously waiting to receive it.

He read her note without surprise; he read it almost, he felt, with a sort of expectation. "I must take back my word. I cannot keep it. You know why. We ought to have known I could not." Within, the note was neither addressed nor signed. He read it passively, and folded it up and put it into his pocketbook. That day, as he made his visits, he thought recurrently of those weak forms of animal life which gather their strength for a sudden spurt and then, when it is spent, rest helpless till their forces are renewed. He had taken her in a moment when her will had accumulated strength enough for action; but the impulse had exhausted itself, and now she could not act. At first, he said to himself that he must wait for another rise of her slight powers, and then help her to prevail with herself. But, at last, he said that this would be taking advantage of her weakness—making himself her tyrant, her oppressor.

She was not less but more dear to him because of her feeble will. He had always pitied her for her subjection to the brute force of others—of her husband and of her son; and the love that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had begun in pity continued increasingly in pity. She was never so dear to him as now when she had failed him. He could not decide that she had failed him more finally than before, but she had failed him more signally. He promised himself that he would not try to see her again, as long as her son was with her; and, in fact, it was not till the morning after Langbrith had been gone a week that he stopped his horse at her gate, and found his way up the box-bordered path to her door.

She had seen him coming, and met him at the threshold with a dismay and entreaty that went to his heart.

"How do you do, Amelia?" he asked. And she answered:

"Have you come to say that you despise me?"

"Do you know me so little as not to know that I care for you more than ever I did?" he protested. But at the kind of fluttering in her, he said: "I hadn't come to speak of that; I never will be the first to speak of that again. I know that James has left you. I wouldn't come till I knew that, though I wanted to assure myself with my own eyes that you were well."

She looked at him in gratitude that included the larger with the lesser favor, and answered, evasively, "He went last Saturday: he sailed this morning."

"Yes."

"Hope Hawberk and he are engaged. She's been to see me. But he told me before he left. She's a good girl."

Anther said, as if in reply, "James is a good man." Those unfailing tears came into Mrs. Langbrith's eyes.

"*I* know who is a good man," she said.

"When are they to be married?" Anther asked, ignoring her worship.

"They don't know, exactly; not for a year, at least. He says he wants to be sure that he is doing something over there, first. Do you understand what it is that he wants to do?"

"Not very well; but I have heard of other young men studying to write for the theatre, there. The French are supposed to do those things best."

"Yes," Mrs. Langbrith vaguely assented. "He's got that Mr. Falk to go with him."

"That's good. He seems to be a good fellow."

"I think he will be a good influence," Mrs. Langbrith suggested.

"Oh, yes, but James could be trusted to himself."

"Yes. Dr. Anther," she broke off, "do you think Mr. Hawberk is going to get well?"

He looked quickly at her.

"Why?"

"Hope thinks he is. She says he is trying harder than he ever did before; he's paying more attention to what you want him to do. She says that the days when you want him to take the med-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

icine instead of the laudanum he does not take the laudanum at all."

"I haven't seen him for more than a week. His gain depends upon how long he has been keeping faith with me."

"I guess it's more than five or six days, now. Dr. Anther, if Mr. Hawberk should get over it, would he begin to tell the truth, or would he go on talking the same as he does now?"

"Talking about what?"

"Oh, everything. You said that his opium-eating prevented his *telling the truth.*"

"The truth?"

"Well," she said, desperately, "about Mr. Langbrith. If he got well, would he say what Mr. Langbrith really was?"

Anther rose, and walked across the room and back; and he did not sit down again. "He would be apt to say what he really was."

She drew a long breath. "I don't know as I should like that," she said, piteously, and her voice trembled. "It would get to James, and—and— I don't know as I want he should ever know, now."

They looked at each other, he searchingly, she beseechingly. He wondered, "What is she asking me?" and a pit, on the edge of which she seemed to tremble, opened to his conjecture. His gaze hardened, and hers sank under it. "I've nothing to do with that," he said to her falling face. "My business is to cure Hawberk, if I can, at any risk, and with any consequence."

She returned wildly, as if in terror of something she had barely escaped. "Yes, yes! You must! And, oh, I hope you can do it! I can't help what he says about Mr. Langbrith; I don't care who knows the truth. Only cure him! Why do you look at me so, Dr. Anther, as if you blamed me? Well, I *am* to blame. I did—"

"Hush, Amelia! I don't blame you. I understand you. Don't think I blame you, or hold you responsible for anything." Whatever it was that had passed from one consciousness to the other was confessed and pardoned, and he took her hand in saying, while her tears rose without falling, "I have been thinking the whole matter over very anxiously since I saw you last, and I have asked myself, now that we can never be anything more to each other than we are, what would be the use of James's ever knowing the sort of man his father was. I have had my impulses to revenge myself on him, to punish him for what I have considered his insolence to you as well as me; but I have fully realized that his wrong came from the illusion in which he lived, and that we could not destroy this illusion now to any good purpose, and I have no longer any wish to hurt him. Let it go. But as a physician," he added, "there can be no doubt of my duty. Hawberk might live on indefinitely, as an opium-eater, and, again, he might die suddenly. It's my business to keep him alive and get him well!"

"Oh, yes, I know that. It was because," she entreated, "I thought it would be so dreadful if I thought it that I thought it."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He looked at her with a sad intelligence where she stood wavering. "I understand," he said, and he took her hand, hesitating. Then he dropped it, saying "Good-by," and left the house.

He drove away hardly aware of anything outside himself, till he was aware of coming to the rectory. Then he realized that he was going to see Hawberk. He was beset by a sudden longing to speak with Enderby, and was staying himself against it in a sense of its meanness and unfairness, when Mrs. Enderby's voice called to him from the yard, where she was gathering some flowers from the blossomed shrubbery. He perceived he had stopped at the gate.

"Won't you come in and see Dr. Enderby?" she called.

"No, no, I thank you," he returned. "I hope he's well."

"Oh, quite well," she answered, looking at the sprays in her hand. "I was just getting some flowers to send to Hope," she said, as she came to the gate. "Aren't these roses magnificent?" She touched their cheeks with the hand from which she dangled her garden-shears. "They're fit for any fiancée, even such a little dear as Hope. You've heard, of course?"

"Yes."

"It's too delightful! There's something very romantic, don't you think? in his remaining constant to her after all the nice girls he must have seen in Boston and Cambridge and Brookline, as a student. But she's wonderful! Yes, she is. And so happy! Have you seen her since?"

"No, but I suppose I shall see her now. May I take her your flowers?"

"Oh, will you? Thank you, so much." She came out and put the flowers on the seat, where he made room for them beside him. "It's rather hard," she ran on, "her being left behind here and he gone on to Paris. But her father's being so much better is a great compensation. You must feel doubly anxious to cure him now. Of course, they never could think of marrying and going away from him while he's in this state. And you really have hopes of him?"

Anther could not smile, even in his amusement with the comely, kindly woman beaming up at him with her hand above her eyes. "I'm doing my best," he said, gravely.

"And you will succeed."

"These cases are difficult; but I have my hopes."

"And you shall have my prayers—*our* prayers!" she said, fervently. "You won't come in and see Dr. Enderby?"

"Not this morning. I have too much to say to him."

"Yes," she assented, dropping her eyes; and he knew that she knew what was in his thoughts.

XXIX.

Anther did not find Hawberk. Hope said, from the steps of the house which the doctor could drive so near, that he had gone down into the village; she believed that he meant to call at the doctor's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

office before he came back. She was always a cheerful presence, but now joy seemed to radiate from her like a rapturous effulgence. Anther felt it, and he felt that if she knew of his own reason for sadness, she had the same right to ignore it in her moves as she had to ignore her father's misery. She looked as if lifted tiptoe by her happiness, and her voice danced with her dancing eyes.

"Why haven't you been to congratulate me, Dr. Anther?" she challenged him, archly. "I do believe you don't care!"

"Oh, I guess not," he retorted, feeling his load raised in part by the mere ecstasy of her spirits. "I hadn't been officially notified."

"Well, you are now. I was waiting to come and tell you, when I was sure I could tell you how much better father was. He hasn't disobeyed for nearly a week—ever since James left. It all seems to come together. It's made me so wretched."

"Well, you don't look it," he answered. But he did not smile at her mocking, and she recollected herself. She looked at him in wistful sympathy, but the years between them were so many, and Dr. Anther was such a really dignified person, that she could not venture to speak her sympathy, uninvited. He did not invite her. He felt himself blush at the pity of the joyous young creature who was imagining his case from her own, in an equality of passion. It embarrassed him in his consciousness of the difference. She grew a little embarrassed, herself, and he knew that he was wounding her. "Did you say your father had gone to see me?" he asked, gathering up his reins, while Hope stepped back from the wheels.

"Dr. Anther!" The hoarse croak of her grandmother intercepted her answer, and the doctor saw the stooping figure and fierce face of the old woman in the open doorway; "I want you should tell this crazy girl there can't come any good from that Langbrith tribe. I know 'em root and branch, and I don't know any good of 'em. If ever Lorenzo Hawberk gets to be a man again, instead of a laudanum toper, I can tell him a thing or two about the Langbriths that'll lock their wheels for 'em."

Hope turned and ran back to her grandmother, whom she gently pushed indoors. "Now, grandmother, I guess Dr. Anther knows as much about the Langbriths as you do," she said, and she turned her laughing face over her shoulder to show him that she was not taking her grandmother seriously. "Good-by, Dr. Anther," she shouted, and, suddenly remembering the flowers, he called out to her:

"Oh, hold on a moment, Hope; here's something Mrs. Enderby sent you by me."

"Well, I never did!" she rippled down to him with a laugh that denied any sadness in the world. "What *would* you have said if you'd forgotten altogether? Oh, how generous!"

She fluttered up the steps again with her face buried in the flowers, and then she called back, "Oh, *I* forgot, this time. Thank you, Dr. Anther," she sweetly chanted, and the doctor drove away.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He felt it an escape not to find Hawberk waiting for him. He found both the bottles, one for laudanum and one for medicine, which Hawberk had left, and a scribbled note from him: "Will call for these later. Guess we're getting the upper hand of that green fellow a little. I couldn't get him to come with me, anyway."

Dr. Anther was taking his meals at the hotel when he could think of them or time them aright, and his hired man was in a sort of loose, general charge of his place, pending the installation of some specific housekeeper, of whom the doctor had as yet no distinct prevision. When the hired man was not about, the door was free to any one who would open it, and patients came in and waited for the doctor, or wrote their calls on his slate and went away.

He now examined his slate, and found no call so pressing but that he felt justified in sitting down and giving Hawberk a chance to return before he started on his rounds. He was perplexed by a situation which would once have been joy and triumph to him, mixed with the hope whose fierceness he now recognized with abhorrence. What had worn the high look of righteous retribution and been the promise of happiness, was now more like a menace of the peace which alone remained his desire, as far as he had any desire. He had been beaten in the struggle. The dead hand had been too strong for him. If he could still prevail, through Hawberk's restoration to truth in his restoration to health, he would prevail in vain, for he would prevail too late. Nothing but his duty remained, a duty that was barren of personal reward, and that if done successfully, as regarded Hawberk, must be done at the risk of fruitless suffering for others. It was with a sense of reluctance close upon disgust that he pulled himself together, at the sound of shuffling steps, which he did not doubt were Hawberk's, loosely dragging themselves up his walk.

John Langbrith came in, and lounged weakly into the easy-chair with a cursory nod to the doctor. "I want to see," he said, without further greeting, "if you can do something for this dyspepsia of mine." They had not parted friends, or even courteous acquaintances, at their last meeting; but, as John Langbrith ignored that, Anther ignored it, too, in the superior interest of their relation as patient and physician.

"Is it worse?" he asked.

"If it wasn't worse, I shouldn't have come. I can stand a good deal without squealing, but I can't stand everything!" Langbrith began nervously swinging the leg he had crossed upon the other, and looked about for something to chew. In default of anything else, he tore a piece from the splint bottom of his chair and chewed upon that, as he laconically, almost sardonically, rehearsed his symptoms. Anther listened without prompting questions, and at the end John Langbrith said, "I presume you'll come out with the old thing: overwork."

Anther rubbed his hand all over his face, after his fashion.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"That's usually the trouble with nervous dyspeptics, when it isn't overeating or overdrinking. Couldn't you get a little time off and go somewhere for a change, as well as rest?"

"I guess I've got to. What can you give me to take, while I'm putting things in shape to leave?"

"I'll do something to tide you along; but you understand that it's merely temporary." Anther turned in his chair to write a prescription, pausing and thinking over it, while John Langbrith continued talking to his back.

"If you could get off on a good long sea voyage, it would be the best thing—two or three weeks."

"I could get off on that as well as anything else. The devil of it is to get off on anything at all. There ain't a soul to leave the business with, the way I want to. If that fool of a boy was worth the powder to blow him, I should be all right. What's he going to do over there, anyway? You make it out?"

"He's going to learn to write plays, as I understand."

"Write plays!" John Langbrith grunted; "who wants his plays?"

"That remains to be seen."

"Well, I'm not goin' to stan' it. They'll find that out, both of 'em. If his mother hadn't babied him up so, and kept him in cotton all his life, I could have worked him into the business before this, and now I could leave it in his hands."

"You say you don't sleep very well?"

"Sleep! How can a man sleep with a stomach like mine. But I shouldn't care for the not sleeping. Never did want much sleep. The devil of it is, I don't *wake* well. Sometimes I'm in such misery I don't hardly know where I am. Why can't you give me some of Hawberk's dose?"

"I can if you want to come to Hawberk's condition."

"I suppose you could cure me if you have him?"

"I don't boast of having cured him, yet."

"I thought you did, the last time." Langbrith chuckled with a dry pleasure, while he seemed indifferent as to the doctor's sharing in the recollection. "If you could get him on to his legs again, I might leave him in charge of the mills. Maybe, he wouldn't want to blow on Royal then!"

Anther still sat stooped over his desk, and gave no heed to Langbrith's continued pleasantry. He wheeled abruptly in his chair, and held a prescription towards his patient. "There, that's the best I can do for you now; but get away as soon as you can."

Langbrith folded up the prescription, and put it into his pocketbook, but he did not rise at once. "I guess I shall have to, unless this does the business for me. I don't know why I'm so anxious about the damned mills, anyway. Royal always treated me like a nigger—he did everybody he could get under his thumb, and this boy seems to think I'm part of the property. It wasn't for either of them I couldn't meet you on your proposition the other day."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Oh, that's all right!" the doctor said.

"I shouldn't care if Hawberk came out with the true story some day. But I don't want to go outside of my job, if I don't have to. That's all there is to it. I've got enough to do, running the business, without looking for trouble with Royal's ghost!"

Anther had nothing to offer on this point, and in the country fashion, in such cases, he said nothing at all. And he did not respond in any wise to the long-drawn, groaned-out "We-e-ell!" with which John Langbrith got himself away, as a form of leave-taking. He had been gone some time, when Hawberk came in, with a step so much firmer and quicker than Anther had known it for a long time that he could not have known it as his.

"Well, Doct' Anther," he said, briskly, "have you got my bottles ready for me?"

"I've not got your prescriptions ready; I happen to be out of the drugs," Anther said, with a returning sense of meaning in the duty which had lately seemed so purposeless, and a rise of liking for Hawberk in the place of his reluctance and disgust. He felt the charm of the man, which he had never quite ceased to feel, though it had been dulled by long disappointment with him.

"Well, I don't know," Hawberk said, "but I guess we're doing the business for that green fellow at last. I always did know what he was when he seemed to be coming at me by the thousand, like your reflection, you know, when you stand between a couple of glasses. That got to be a great trick of his one while; but he's stopped it now. Why, Doct' Anther," he exclaimed, with a sort of impersonal pleasure in a fact which Anther must enjoy, "I've got so, inside of the last forty-eight hours, that I haven't been afraid to go to sleep. He still keeps hanging round, but he seems to know I'm on to him, and he don't try any of his old jinks with me; just comes and goes to let me know he's around, but don't make any particular trouble. Why, doctor, just to try myself, one day this week—day before yesterday, I guess it was—I got down to sixty drops of laudanum, and it was my laudanum day, too. Don't I show it—in my looks, I mean?"

"Your complexion is clearing up. But go slow, Hawberk, even when you are going in the direction of my instructions. I don't want you to tamper with my patient's case."

Hawberk tasted the humor. "Well, I won't, doctor; I won't," he said, and he laughed in the free way that was natural to him, and that went to Anther's heart.

The doctor turned a little grave, though. "How are the psychological symptoms? Do you see things, generally, as you have been seeing them?"

"I don't know as I do—everything. There's one thing I wanted to speak to you about."

"That house you're going to put up on the hill back of you?"

Hawberk smiled. "I guess that can wait awhile." Then he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

said, seriously: "You know Hope and Jim Langbrith have fixed it up between them?"

"Yes, Hope told me this morning. I had heard of it before."

"Well, that's all right. He's a good fellow, and I haven't a word against him. I don't know what he's going to do out there in Paris, but I presume *he* does. Anyway, Hope believes in it, and if it never comes to anything, he's got money enough without it." Hawberk's face clouded. "I suppose if everything had gone right, I should have had some money, too. That's the way it looks, off and on. I've had times, of late, very curious times, Doct' Anther, when it don't seem as if the square thing had been done by me. Do you remember the circumstance of my leaving the mills? I ain't clear, myself."

The dawn in Hawberk's mind had broken sooner than Anther expected, though it had come too late for any purpose of his. Now, if he had a wish, it must have been to darken it. When he thought how he would have once exulted in it, he had a kind of sickness of it; but his duty was still before him. He must do his best to cure his patient. As a physician, he could have no other concern; but he could keep himself out of the moral consequences. With these he had nothing, and must have nothing, to do.

"You'll be clear enough if you get well," he said. "All the facts of that matter are something you must work out for yourself. I wish to caution you only on one point. You must be very careful to verify any surmise you may have. I should urge you not to speak of it to any one but me. You can see how, under the present circumstances, it could make great unhappiness for James Langbrith, and through him, for Hope."

"Yes, I see that, doctor. I'm not speaking of it. As I say, it's something that comes and goes." He added, with a laugh, "And it goes full as much as it comes. Well," he rose and took his bottles from Anther's table, "Emering put these up for me? You ain't afraid we'll get our heads together and make 'em *both* laudanum?"

"I guess I can trust you," the doctor answered, almost absently.

"Well, I guess you're right. Anyway, that green fellow has got the job of watching after me, and he's on the lookout. You've weakened on the laudanum a little this time, as I understand."

"A little."

Anther's absence gained upon him so much that he scarcely noticed Hawberk's going; and he sat long in a hapless muse, in which now and then he smiled in self-derision. If the situation had been contrived by the sardonic spirit of Royal Langbrith himself, it could not have had a more diabolical perfection.

(To be Continued.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED